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ABSTRACT

This is a presentation of the Slovene language, one of the three official languages of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the official or administrative language of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The presentation covers the following topics: (1) description of the language, the speech area, and contemporary standard Slovene: (2) historical background: (3) the situation of Slovene among other Slavic languages and dialects: (4) the history and evolution of Slovene: (5) the dialects of Slovene: (6) phonology, morphology, grammatical categories, nominal inflectional pattern, and verbal conjugational pattern of contemporary Slovene: and (7) the history of Contemporary Standard Slovene and its sociolinguistic problems. A selection of texts and bibliographic documentation conclude the volume. (AMH)

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE

Rado L. Lencek

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PREFACE

The present *Introduction to the Slovene Language* was conceived in the Fall of 1970 during my graduate seminar *The Structure of Modern Slovene* at Columbia University, and was made possible by an Office of Education grant under the Foreign Language and Area Studies Research Program. Some sections of the material in this book were presented for the first time in a graduate seminar *Introduction to the History of the Slovene Language* at Yale University in the Spring of 1974. Chapter Six of this monograph represents an adapted version of a paper prepared for the First International Slavic Conference, held in Banff, Alberta, Canada, which appears in *Slavic Linguistics and Language Teaching* (ed. by Thomas F. Magner) (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 112-152. I thank Slavica Publishers, Inc., for having kindly granted permission to use this material.

I wish especially to thank Jakob Rigler and Pavle Ivić for the helpful comments and criticism they brought to several sections of an earlier version of this manuscript. I am also indebted to Herbert Galton, Lew R. Micklesen, and William W. Derbyshire for their suggestions and advice. And finally, it is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to all those who have helped in the production of the manuscript: Kenneth Nyirady with the editing of its text, Florence Keller for the preparation of the illustrations, and Miriam Levy for production of the camera-ready copy of the volume.

I am dedicating this volume to my parents from whom I have learned the language which is presented in this book.

Columbia University
New York, New York
August 1980

Rado L. Lencek

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ab.	about
acc., A	accusative (case)
act.	active (voice)
A.D.	*anno Domini*
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist (tense)
Bav.	Bavarian
B.C.	before Christ
b.	born
Bulg.	Bulgarian
ca.	circa
cent.	century
cmplx.	complex (part.)
Croat.	Croatian
CS	Common Slavic
CSS	Contemporary Standard Slovene
Cz	Czech
Čak.	Čakavian
dat., D	dative (case)
decl.	declension (-al)
def.	definitive form
deg.	degree
dial.	dialect(s)(-al)
e.g.	*exempli gratia*
esp.	especially
fem.	feminine (gender)
Fig.	Figure
Friul.	Friulian
gen., G.	genitive (case)
Ger.	German
Gmc.	Germanic
Goth.	Gothic
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	*id est* 'that is'
imper.	imperative (mood)
impf.	imperfect (tense)
indef.	indefinite (form)
infin.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
instr., I	instrumental (case)
irreg.	irregular
It.	Italian
Kajk.	Kajkavian
lang.	language
Lat.	Latin
loc., L	locative (case)
loc. cit.	*loco citato* 'in the place cited'
masc.	masculine (gender)
MHG	Middle High German
ML	Medieval Latin
neut.	neuter (gender)
nom., N	nominative (case)
obs.	obsolete
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
orthogr.	orthographic
part.	participle
pass.	passive (voice, form)
pers.	person
plur., pl.	plural (number)
Pol.	Polish
pos.	positive (degree)
prep.	preposition
pres.	present (tense)
pron.	pronoun
refl., R	reflexive
resp.	respectively
Rom.	Romance
Russ.	Russian
SCr.	Serbocroatian
sing., sg.	singular (number)
Slav.	Slavic
Sle.	Slovene
Slk.	Slovak
So. Slav.	South Slavic
subst.	substantive
Štok.	Štokavian
t.	tense
vb.	verb
vs.	*versus* 'against'

Our morphophonemic notation in the *Verbal Conjugational Pattern* chapter is discussed in footnote 12, p. 175, and in our Figure 36, *Table of Basic Stems* p. 172-173.

For bibliographic abbreviations, see *Bibliography* (p. 239).

C	any consonant
Č	any *č*, *ž*, *š* or the group *šč*
K	any *k*, *g*
L	any sonorant
N	any nasal
O	any obstruent
S	any sonorant
V	any vowel
V^l	either of the two lax vowels in Sle.
>	"developed into"
<	"developed from"
→	"is to be changed"
∿	"alternates with"
+	plus (for adding of two elements)
~	neoacute
´	rising accent
⁀	falling accent
`	short rising accent (in SCr.), and short accent in Sle.
``	short falling accent
ˈ	stress
¯	macron, long vowel
˘	breve, short vowel

For the use of accentual signs on Slovene data, see our note on *Notation*.

NOTATION

Except where indicated, our notation of the CSS linguistic data follows the orthographic norm of the *Slovenski pravopis*-1962. Except in names, titles, direct quotations and in the Word Index, we deviate from this norm by using the symbol ə for the phonemic /ə/ 'schwa.' Note that in Chapters I to IV, devoted to the history and dialects of Slovene, the accent diacritics indicate tone oppositions as defined on pages 28 and 109 ff. Note also that the basic forms postulated in our description of the CSS Verbal Conjugation (Chapter VI), are given in a morphophonemic notation, described in footnote 12 on page 173.

Phonemically transcribed forms are given in slants / /. In phonemic transcription we use /ə/, the symbols for closed and open mid-vowels: /*ẹ*/ and /*e*/, /*ọ*/ and /*o*/, the symbols *u̯* or *w* for bilabial /*w*/, ə*r* for phonemic /ə*r*/ in rC- and -CrC- sequences, and two accent marks: an /´/ to indicate a long, and a /`/ to indicate a short vowel.

Phonetically transcribed forms are given in brackets [ ]; in a phonetic notation of the syllabic *r̥* under pitch, we use [ə̀*r*] for *ŕ̥* and [ə̏*r*] for *r̥̂*.

Russian examples in our discussion are transliterated. In the examples from Czech and Slovak we follow the orthographic convention of these languages. To indicate stress in examples from languages which do not know phonemic tone, we use a neutral mark for stress /'/.

INTRODUCTION

THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE Slovene is one of the three official languages of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the official or administrative language of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It is the native language of approximately 1.8 million speakers who live on the Slovene ethnic territory in Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, and of about 400,000 Slovenes in emigration, of which 150,000 live in the United States.[1]

Linguistically, Slovene is a South Slavic language with a speech area to the west of Serbocroatian, wedging into the Italian, Raetoromance-Friulian, German, and Hungarian linguistic territories in the extreme oriental spurs of the Alps. In the west, the speech area of Slovene extends into Italy near Cividale (Sle. Čedad) and Udine (Sle. Viden), in the north into Southern Austria, and in the northeast into Hungary south of Szentgotthard.

---

[1] According to the 1971 census, there are 1,678,032 Slovenes in Yugoslavia, who account for 8.2% of its total population. A judicious evaluation of controversial estimates of the number of Slovenes occupying the Slovene speech territory outside Yugoslavia suggests that today some 80,000 Slovenes live in Italy, 30,000 in Austria, and about 5,000 in Hungary. The recent Slovene emigration statistics speak of about 30,000 Slovenes in Argentina, 22,000 in Australia, 20,000 in Canada, 15,000 in West Germany, 10,000 in France, and some 26,000 elsewhere. There are no statistics on the actual number of speakers of Slovene in the United States today. In 1950, the Center for Studies of Slovene Emigration in Ljubljana assessed their number at 300,000, whereas Joshua Fishman's estimate for 1960 is only 32,108. Our figure, 150,000, seems to be a more realistic estimate.

Cf., Ž. Šifrer, "Slovenija po narodnosti," *Naši razgledi*, Ljubljana, March 9, 1973, p. 115; idem, "Savremene slovenske etničke granice; Izseljavanje," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, IV (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod FNRJ, 1968), 232-233; - S. Lipoglavšek-Rakovec, "Slovenski izseljenci: Geografski pregled predvojnega stanja," *Geografski vestnik*, 22 (Ljubljana: DZS, 1950), 3-60; - T. Hočevar, *Geographical Distribution, Age Structure, and Comparative Language Maintenance of Persons of Slovene Language in the United States* (Society for Slovene Studies Newsletter: Documentation Series, 3), New York: Society for Slovene Studies, 1978.

THE SPEECH AREA   The geographical position of the Slovene speech territory can be defined more precisely as follows.[2] On the west, the boundary begins at the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Rokava River in North Istria to Štivan at Devin (It. Duino); the city of Trieste (Sle. Trst) is predominantly Italian today. From Devin the linguistic boundary proceeds in a northwestern direction, from Tržič (It. Monfalcone), through the plateau of Doberdob, along the Soča River (It. Isonzo) up to the city of Gorica (It. Gorizia); then along the following line of settlements: Podgora - Medana - Praprotno - Ažla - Čarnjeja - Podbrdo (Friul. Cesaris) - Ter (Friul. Praedilis) - Mužci (It. Moggio) - Na Beli (It. Resia), and then to the peak of Kanin (It. M. Canin).

On the north, starting at the peaks of Kanin and Lipnik (It. M. Schenone) south of Pontebba, the boundary runs along a line joining Lipalja ves, Škofška planina and Modrinja ves on the Zilja River (Germ. Gail). From here it runs eastward along a line about the Brda hills, Borlje, Močidlo and Dobrač; then along the Zilja River to its confluence with the Drava River (Germ. Drau). From here it proceeds below the Osojsko jezero (Germ. Ossiacher See), along the northern shores of the Vrbsko jezero (Germ. Woerther See); Klagenfurth (Sle. Celovec) and its surroundings are already German. From the east shores of the Vrbsko jezero it runs southward, around Vetrinje (Germ. Viktring), north of Žrelec (Germ. Ebenthal), to the Glina River (Germ. Glan), up to the right bank of the Krka River (Germ. Gurk), to Mostič (Germ. Brueckl); from this point eastward along the Svinška planina range (Germ. Saualpe) to the village of Kneža, then above Djekše (Germ. Diex), southwestward to the Drava River, along the ridge of Kozjak, northward to Špilje, then along the Mura River (Germ. Mur) to Radgona (Germ. Radkersburg); and then along the Kučenica River northward almost up to Szentgotthard on the Raba River (Germ. Raab, Hung, Rába).

On the east the boundary proceeds southward from Štefanovci (Hung. Istvánfalva), along the line of the settlements of Šalovci, Berkovci,

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[2] Ramovš 1936, 1-2.

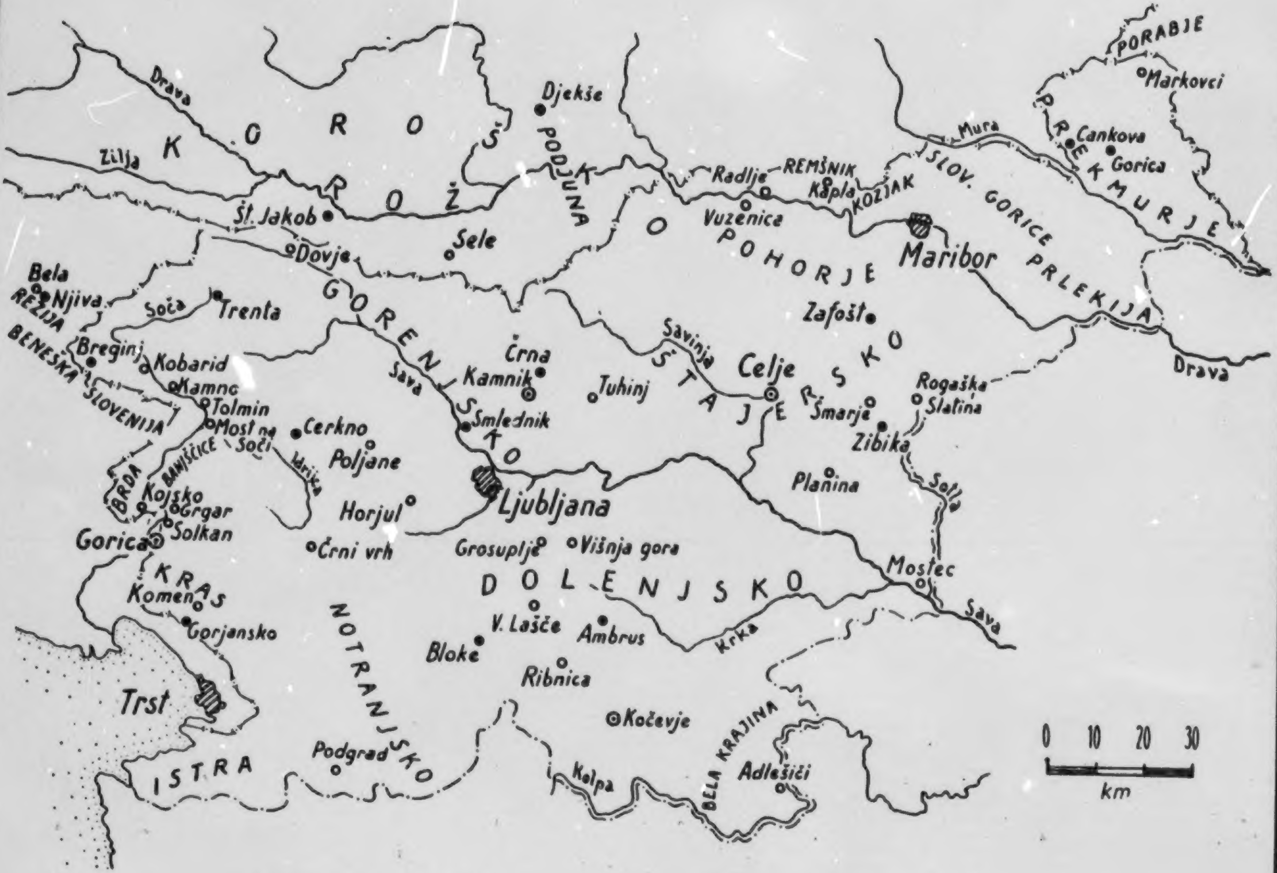
PORABJE
Markovci
Drava
Djekše
K O R O Š K O
Zilja
R O Ž
PODJUNA
Radlje
REMŠNIK
Kapla
KOZJAK
Mura
SLOV. GORICE
P R E K M U R J E
Cankova
Gorica
Vuzenica
Št. Jakob
Dovje
Sele
P O H O R J E
Maribor
PRLEKIJA
Bela
Njiva
REZIJA
BENEŠKA SLOVENIJA
Soča
Trenta
G O R E N J S K O
Zafošt
Drava
Breginj
Kobarid
Kamno
Tolmin
Most na Soči
Črna
Kamnik
Sava
Savinja
Š T A J E R S K O
Celje
Tuhinj
Smlednik
Šmarje
Rogaška Slatina
Zibika
Cerkno
Poljane
BANJŠČICE
Idrijca
BRDA
Kojsko
Grgar
Solkan
Gorica
Ljubljana
Horjul
Planina
Sotla
Črni vrh
Grosuplje
Višnja gora
Mostec
KRAS
Komen
D O L E N J S K O
NOTRANJSKO
V. Lašče
Ambrus
Sava
Gorjansko
Bloke
Ribnica
Krka
Trst
Kočevje
BELA KRAJINA
Podgrad
ISTRA
Kolpa
Adlešiči
0
10
20
30
km

Figure 1. MODERN SLOVENIA AND ITS REGIONS
Reprinted, by permission, from RIGLER 1963, p. 73.

Kobilje, Strelci, Velika Poljana, Gorenja Bistrica, and Središče, then along the Drava River to Ormož, then south of the hills of Haloze to Macelj mountain and then to the Sotla River (Croat. Sutla), across the Sava River to the mountain range of Gorjanci, then along the Kolpa River (Croat. Kupa) to the Snežnik mountain range; from Snežnik along the line connecting the Slovene villages of Klana, Rupa, Šapjane, Brdce, Podgrad, Obrov, Skadanščina, Podgorje, Zazid, Dvori, Sočerga and Trebeše; and then to the Rokava River and along it to the Adriatic.

Tectonically, the Slovene lands consist of two types of geological structures: the Slovene Dinaric Karst system (Sle. Kras) and various branches of the Eastern Alps, including the Julian Alps, which culminate in the peak of Triglav (2863 m.); the Western Karavanke in the Stol (2236 m.), the Carnic Alps, the Ziljske Alpe, the Kamniške Alpe, and the Eastern Karavanke (the highest point of the Karavanke is Grintovec, 2558 m.), and their continuation eastward: Konjiška gora, Maceljsko pogorje, and Pohorje (1542 m.). Thus, nearly three-quarters of the Slovene lands' surface is mountainous. The most important lowland regions in both systems are the Klagenfurt basin, the Zilja valley, the Kanal valley, the Podkoren valley north of Karavanke, the Ljubljana basin between the Western and the Eastern Alpine Foreland, the Savinjska dolina, the Celjska kotlina, the Krška dolina, and the Bela Krajina in the southeast; the Pannonian lowland of the Murska ravan, Mursko polje, Dravsko polje, and the Podravska dolina in the northeast.[3]

When the Slavic tribes, the ancestors of the Slovenes of today, progressed into the Eastern Alps in the sixth century A.D., their migrational streams simply followed the outer ranges of the Western Carpathians, the water system of the Pannonian lowland, and the natural topography of the Eastern Alps. Upon crossing the Danube River, they followed the network of the old Roman roads along the Drava and Sava Rivers and their tributaries, and entered the valleys leading into the Alps far beyond their present-day speech territory. The extent of this early settled area in the Eastern Alps is usually defined by a territory south and southeast from the line joining the Hohe and the Niedere Tauern with Dachstein, Totes Gebirge, and continuing into the Bohemian Forest across the Danube. This territory included, of course, the region south of the Danube River to the Wiener Wald and the hills of the eastern Austria of today, and the Julian and Karavanke systems of the Southeastern Alps with the Karst plateau (Kras) and its transition into the Dinaric system. With the exception of the River Soča (It. Isonzo) valley in the Julian Alps which joins the Mediterranean basin, the valleys of the entire Eastern Alpine region are open toward the east. While the greater part of this region changed its ethnic and linguistic character a few centuries later under the pressure of German colonization from the north, the major population movements into this region historically were from the southeast and east. This east-west course has, in fact, been the natural direction of major migrational routes and communication lines in this region for centuries. It is in this east-west direction that the South Slavic linguistic innovations can be followed as well.

---

[3] For a geographic description of Slovene lands we refer to the series *Slovenska zemlja; Opis slovenskih pokrajin v prirodoznanskem, statističkem, kulturnem in zgodovinskem obziru*, published by "Matica Slovenska" in Ljubljana in seven volumes: *Poknežena grofija Goriška in Gradiščanska* by S. Rutar (1892); *Samosvoje mesto Trst in mejna grofija Istra* by S. Rutar (1896); *Beneška Slovenija* by S. Rutar (1899); *Vojvodina Kranjska* by F. Orožen (1901, 1902); *Kamniške ali Savinjske Alpe* by F. Seidl (1907, 1908); *Vojvodina Koroška* by M. Potočnik (1909, 1910); and *Slovenska Štajerska in Prekmurje* by F. Kovačič (1926). For a modern description of the regions of Slovenia, see A. Melik, *Slovenija: geografski opis*, Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1936-60, 2 volumes in 5.

The division into the duchies and lands which fragmented the Slovene speech area for centuries in the Austrian empire, whose names continue to denote these regions still today, agrees by and large with the natural boundaries inside the Eastern Alps area. Thus, Carniola (Sle. Kranjsko, Germ. Krain) whose center is Ljubljana (Germ. Laibach),[4] was historically a duchy in the Habsburg crownlands. It is bounded roughly by the Julian Alps and Idrijsko pogorje on the west, the Karavanke, Kamniške Alpe and the Sava River on the north, and the Karst plateau on the south. Protected by these natural boundaries and by its central position, it did not yield to German linguistic pressure in the past, and became the stronghold of Slovenia today. By tradition, Carniola itself is divided

---

[4] Two patterns of regional names are used in Slovene: a neuter substantive form: *Kranjsko* (nom.), *s Kranjskega* (gen.), *na Kranjsko* (acc.), *na Kranjskem* (loc.); and a fem. substantive form: *Kranjska* (nom.), *dežela Kranjska, iz Kranjske* (gen.). Cf. SP-1962:43.

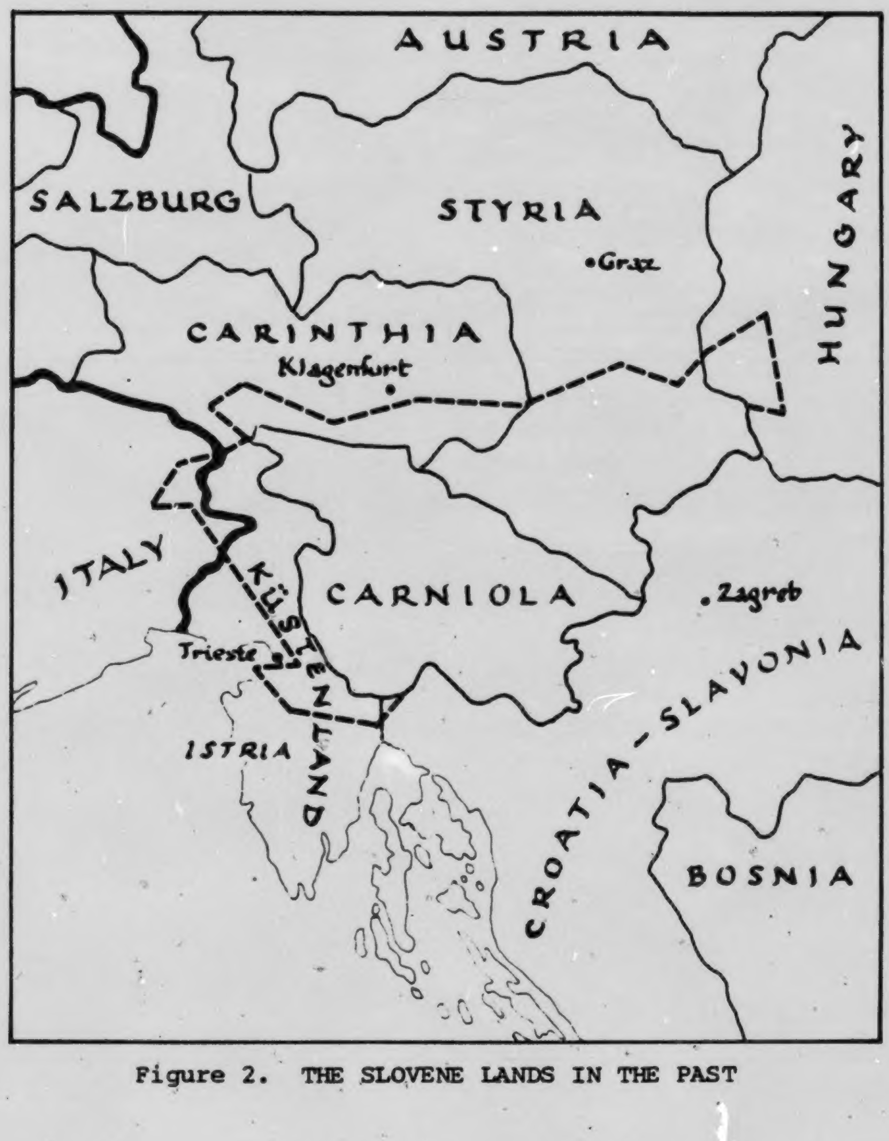
AUSTRIA
SALZBURG
STYRIA
Graz
HUNGARY
CARINTHIA
Klagenfurt
ITALY
KÜSTENLAND
CARNIOLA
Zagreb
Trieste
ISTRIA
CROATIA-SLAVONIA
BOSNIA

Figure 2. THE SLOVENE LANDS IN THE PAST

into Upper Carniola (Sle. Gorenjsko, Germ. Oberkrain), which is located to the north, Lower Carniola (Sle. Dolenjsko, Germ. Unterkrain) to the south-east, and Notranjsko (Germ. Innerkrain) to the south-west of Ljubljana. Beyond the Kočevje Mountains (Sle. Kočevsko hribovje) and the Gorjanci range in the south-east, Carniola extends into Bela Krajina (White Carniola), which belongs geographically to the Kolpa River valley.

To the north of Karavanke lies Carinthia (Sle. Koroško, Germ. Kaernten), whose center is Klagenfurt (Sle. Celovec). Historically, Carinthia represents the nucleus of the old Alpine Slavic principality of Karantania (7th cent. to 1414 A.D.), which later became a duchy and a Habsburg crownland. Geographically, it consists of the valleys of the Drava River and its tributaries: the Zilja (Gail), the Glina (Glan), the Krka (Gurk), and its lakes, including the Osojsko (Ossiacher See), the Baško (Faaker See), the Vrbsko (Woerther See), and the Klopinjsko jezero (Klopein See). We are referring here, of course, to the southern part of present-day Bundesland Kaernten or lower Carinthia. Among the regions where Slovene is still spoken today are the Ziljska dolina (Germ. Gailtal), the Kanalska dolina (Germ. Kanaltal, It. Val Canale), the Rož (Germ. Rosental), the Klagenfurt basin, and the Podjuna (Germ. Jauntal).

Slovene Styria (Sle. Štajersko), located between the Sava and the Drava Rivers, was, in fact, the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Steiermark, a duchy and a Habsburg crownland, whose administrative center was Graz (Sle. Gradec). The Slovene Štajersko corresponds, by and large, to the southern part of the Steiermark, or Lower Styria. Its administrative and intellectual center in Slovenia is Maribor (Germ. Marburg a/Drau). The watershed between the Sava and the Drava Rivers represents a historical line of division of Lower Styria into a northern and southern part. The eastern limit of Lower Styria is the Solta River.

Prekmurje comprises the Slovene lands beyond the Mura River, which lie on the extreme northeastern edge of the Slovene Pannonian lowland. Its center is Murska Sobota. This region has a historical and linguistic character entirely of its own. Historically, it represents the part of the Slovene speech area which was under the Hungarian crown until the end of World War I. Linguistically, Prekmurje contains a complex of dialects which for many centuries interlinked the Eastern Alpine Slavic dialects with the Slavic linguistic continuum of pre-Hungarian Pannonia.

The term Primorsko (Littoral, Germ. Kuestenland) has been used to denote the region west of the Julian Alps, the Idrija Mountains and the Kras, including the valleys of the Soča and Vipava Rivers, the parts of the historical county of Goriška and Gradiščanska (Germ. Goerz und Gradisca), the territory of Triest (It. Trieste, Sle. Trst), and Istria (Sle. Istra). Its centers today are Gorizia (Sle. Gorica, Germ. Goerz) and Triest, both in Italy, and Nova Gorica and Koper (It. Capodistria) in Yugoslavia.

To the Slovene speech area belongs as well Venetian Slovenia (Sle. Beneška Slovenija, It. Slavia Veneta, Slavia Friuliana), with a center in S. Pietro al Natisone (Sle. Špeter Slovenov), and Resia (Sle. Rezija). Both areas occupy the westernmost region of the Julian Alps, the valleys of the Nadiža, the Ter, and the Rezija Rivers (It. le Valli del Natisone, le Valli del Torre e Resia), down to the edge of the mountains and hills above the Friulian plain at Gemona, Tarcento, Faedis, Nimis and Cividale (Sle. Čedad). The regions of the Venetian Slovenia and Resia were part of the Republic of Venice since 1420 A.D., and Italy since 1866.

THE NAME: SLOVENES AND THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE The ancestors of the Slovenes who settled in the Eastern Alps were part of the family of Slavic tribes, designated in Greek historical records as *Sklabenoi* (Procopius, ab. 530) and in the oldest Slavic sources as *Slověne* (The Primary Chronicle, ab. 1111). The Eastern Alpine area was soon after their settlement referred to as *Sclavorum Regio* (ab. 610) and *Sclauinia* (785). As early as the seventh century a Frankish Latin source calls them *Winidi*, and their Principality of Karantania *marca Winidorum* (The Chronicle of Fredegar, 631); in German parlance they were later known as *Winden*, *Windisch* but among the Friulians as *Sclavons*, and later *Slavi*.

For centuries there presumably was among the Slavs in the Eastern Alps no sense of nor any need for a specific name to denote themselves. Like the other peripheral Slavic communities in immediate contact with non-Slavic neighbors, they were named simply by their generic name *Slověne* (nom.pl.), *Slověninъ* (nom.sg.), and *slověnьskъ*(adj.). This usage has also been preserved as an ethnicon in most of the Slovene peripheral areas, being used for centuries in Western Slovene dialects, in Venetian Slovenia, Rezija, Carinthia, Styria, and in the entire Kajkavian speech area (Slovinje) beyond the Sotla River. It is known that dynastic and political-administrative fragmentation of the Slovene lands later motivated and promoted regional Lands' affiliation. Thus, with the growing prestige of central Carniola, the terms *Kranjska*, *Kranjci* (nom. pl.), *Kranjec* (nom.sg.), *kranjski* (adj.) (Germ. Krain, Krainer, krainisch) soon assumed a broader metonymic meaning, so that Primož Trubar (1508-1586), in addressing his countrymen, wrote his messages to "Kranjci inu Slouenzi" ('Carniolans and Slovenes'), though explicitly "v tim slovenskim jeziku" ('in the Slovene language,' 1557), presumably subsuming under this name the Slavic idiom of the Inner Austrian Lands, that is, the Slovene of today.[5]

It was in the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, that the name Slovene as an ethnonym was firmly established. In the title of his *Grammatik* (1808) Jernej Kopitar still spoke of "der *slavische* Sprache in Krain, Kaernten und Steyermark," but his first letter to Joseph Dobrovský (September 20, 1809) already refers to "die Slovenen," the Slovenes, and uses "*Slovenisch*" (adj.) for 'Slovene.' Soon after that an academic "*Societas Slovenica*" was formed in Graz (in 1810); in 1812 Janez Primic (1785-1823) was appointed a "Professor der *Slovenische* Sprache" in Graz Lyceum; in 1817 a chair of the Slovene language (*slovenisch*) was created in Ljubljana; in 1822 Dobrovský's *Institutiones* referred to Slovene as *lingua Slovenica*, and in 1825 Frančišek Metelko's grammar appeared with the title: *Lehrbuch der slovenische Sprache*.

In Slovene, the new terminology was introduced in the '30s and was recognized later in the '40s. Francè Prešeren used *Slovenec* 'a Slovene,' *Slovenš'na* 'Slovenes' for species (1833) and the term *Slovan* 'a Slav,' *slovanski* 'Slavic' for genus was introduced later; it was borrowed from Czech. Both terms were polarized during the first waves of the Illyrian movement in the Slovene lands. In 1848 the proposition of the first Slovene political program ultimately affirmed their usage in that the program was predicated on the usage of the terms *Slovenci* and *slovenski*, 'the Slovenes,' and 'Slovene' (adj.).

Today the name of Slovene for the language spoken in Slovene lands is *slovênščina* or *slovênski jezik*; in Czech and Slovak: *slovinština* or *slovinský jazyk*; in Russian: *slovenskij*, sometimes *slovinskij jazyk*; in Croatian: *slovenski jezik*; and in Serbian: *slovenački jezik*.

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[5] Kidrič 1919, 37-42, 124; Rajhman 1977, 120-121.

THE CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE For centuries the Slovene language existed only on the level of dialects, differing from district to district and even from village to village. In the absence of unifying factors, indeed, in the presence of enormous disunifying geographic and political forces, it is not surprising that the dialects retained an unusual degree of vigor and distinctiveness down to our own time. The differences were sometimes striking, sometimes imperceptible; the cumulative effect of gradual transitions from one dialect to another, however, very often made some almost incomprehensible to each other.

In the sixteenth century, when the dialects presumably differed less than later, a written Slovene language was created, intended for religious use at first, but slowly expanding its communicative functions. Some two hundred years later this written standard was introduced to poetic function and has remained a tool of literary expression ever since. Without any social prestige it was not enfranchised to serve the everyday communication needs of the speech community for which it was created. On the other hand, the charismatic role of the literary creator (Valentin Vodnik, Francè Prešeren, Fran Levstik, Ivan Cankar, Oton Župančič) gave it an iconic value of national unity and identity in its later evolution.

One of the characteristics of contemporary Slovene is a profound discrepancy between its written and spoken form. After the sixteenth century its dialects underwent an intensive linguistic revolution and the gap between the written and the spoken form began to grow all out of proportion. To preserve the unity of Slovene, the language planners (Jernej Kopitar, Matija Čop) insisted on using the two-hundred-year-old traditional norm. By and large, this discrepancy characterizes literary Slovene today.

The contemporary Slovene literary language represents its only standard form and is prescribed for educated speech, described in its grammar books and used in literature, scholarship and in the communications media. It has been characterized as a "Schriftsprache," a "book language"; in other words, an artificial language. It is usually stressed that there is no such thing as a standard spoken Slovene; that the gap between the natural language or the vernacular, i.e., dialects, and the written language is almost unbridgeable and that the history of literary Slovene has been characterized by a continual "war of alphabets" and disagreements on matters of orthography and standard pronunciation.

The Slovene literary language is, in fact, an artificial language in the sense that its norm, from spelling and pronunciation to grammatical structure, is modelled on an idealized Slavic pattern, and differs somewhat from the vernacular. Fran Ramovš, in his *Kratka zgodovina slovenskega jezika*, adduces forty-four dialectal variants of the word *čelo* 'forehead' in Slovene, in order to show that the literary form of this word differs from all its forty-four dialectal variants; it was normalized on the basis of the evolution of these variants from a Common Slavic asterisked form to a shape which is relatively most common-Slovene.[6] It is in this sense that the Literary Slovene Language is indeed more of an artificial, literary, or book-language, than any other Slavic language.

The Slovene authoritative sources recognize this status of the literary language when they define it as "an independent artificial structure which does not agree in details with any of the living dialects." This structure has "a specific written form as well as a uniform pronunciation" and the latter "does not correspond completely with any dialectal speech, yet it derives out of all of them." When spoken, the literary language is a model of contemporary Slovene. "Such a form of speech," — continues the *Slovenski pravopis-1962* — "we call cultivated or literary speech. The rules of cultivated speech are a model to be imitated. . . ."[7]

Thus, these two sides of an artificial language, a written and a spoken one, are two theoretical aspects of the Slovene literary language. While a proper definition of the Slovene term "knjižni jezik," therefore, includes both aspects, in reality it does not. Not coinciding with any of the spoken varieties of the contemporary language, the literary Slovene represents the only common standard which unites the speakers of Slovene.

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[6] Ramovš 1936, 97-101.

[7] Slovenski pravopis-1962, 13-14.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SLAVS IN THE EASTERN ALPS   Although we know very little about the conquest of the Eastern Alpine regions by the Slavs, two solid historical testimonies give us a *terminus post quem non* for this process. About the year 593 A.D. Paulus Diaconus, the eight-century Langobard historian, reported the first Bavarian raid into the "Sclaborum provinciam," a region presumably located between the Upper Mur and the Upper Drava Rivers.[1] The second account is Pope Gregory's letter of 600 A.D. to Bishop Maximus of Salona which mentions "the Slavic tribes pressing through the Istria Gate to the Italian side" ("Histriae aditum").[2] In addition, we can be sure of the following historical facts: first, that a larger part of the Slavic tribes who settled in the present-day Slovene speech territory represented the westernmost wave of a common territorial base somewhere south of the Eastern Carpathians; and second, that these tribes moved into the Eastern Alpine and Kras regions in association with the Avars who, since 566-567, and in particular after the departure of the Langobards for Italy in 568, controlled the Pannonian plain, and after the break of the Byzantine defense along the Danube (584 A.D.), led Slavic migrations over the Balkans and into the Eastern Alps.

There is no historical evidence, however, to support the claim of some historians that perhaps it was the earlier resettlement of Langobards from a section of the Eastern Alpine regions into Pannonia in 546 that created a vacuum which began to pull the earliest Frankish and Slavic tribes into the Eastern Alps. It is possible, however, that such an earlier wave of Slavic tribes already about 550 A.D. might have rippled across the Danube into today's Lower and Upper Austrian lands between Wienerwald on the east and a line joining the range Hausruck, Donaugebirge, and the Bohemian Forest on the west.

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[1] Cf. Franc Kos, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku*, I-V (Ljubljana, 1902-1928). Vol. 1, Document No. 112. — The data used in this Chapter are from Vol. 1 (1902) and Vol. 2 (1906). Henceforth: F. Kos 1902, No. 112.

[2] F. Kos 1902, No. 131.

A set of assumptions can be and has been conjectured concerning this unproved and unprovable hypothesis. It is supposed that the first Slavic tribes which settled in the Eastern Alps at this early time might not have been part of the South Slavic linguistic contingent, which could have been set in motion only after the departure of the Langobards from Pannonia; and, that a later merger of those Slavic tribes, who might have come from the north with those from the south and east, still during the time of a Slavic territorial continuum, may suggest an early mixing of Common Slavic dialects which could have left some traces in the linguistic documentation of later times. The arguments for and against such conjectures will be given later.

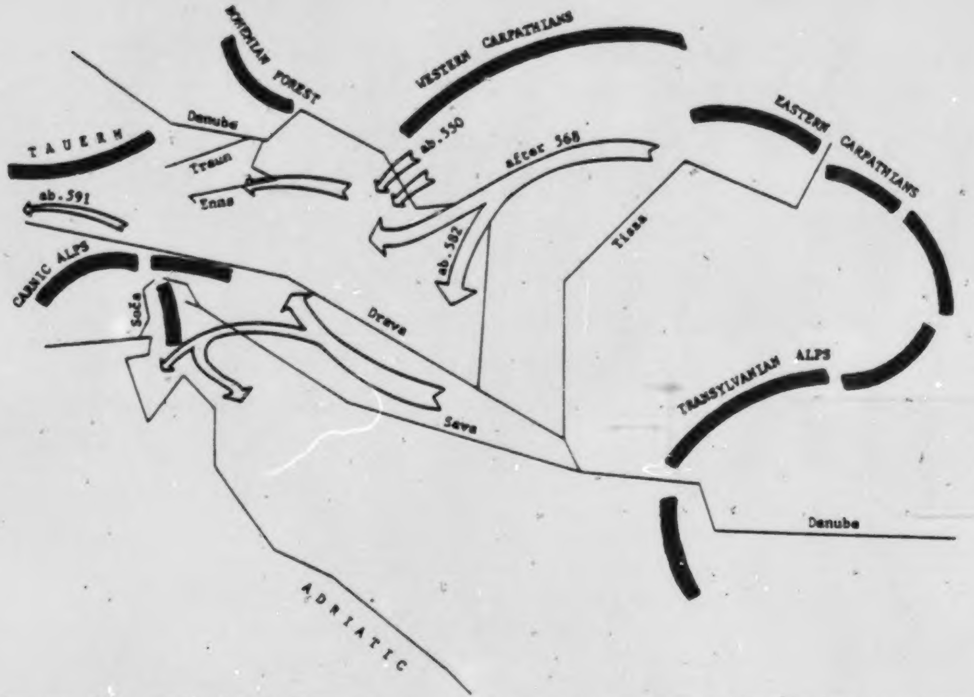
BOHEMIAN FOREST
WESTERN CARPATHIANS
EASTERN CARPATHIANS
TAUERN
Danube
Traun
Enns
ab.550
after 568
ab.591
ab.582
Tisza
CARNIC ALPS
Soča
Drava
Sava
TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS
Danube
ADRIATIC

Figure 3. THE MOVEMENT OF THE SLAVS IN THE WESTERN BALKAN LANDS AND INTO THE EASTERN ALPS

It would be well to adduce at this point some of the more general assumptions about the settlement of the ancestors of today's Slovenes used by historians and still relevant in our discussion.

Historians assert that the Avaro-Slavic advance into the Alps must have followed the old Roman network of roads linking the Pannonian plain with Italy and Central Europe which was built through the orographic and along the water system of the region. The Slavic tribes advanced in this northwestern direction as an Avar vanguard or even as their partners in a military alliance which presumably lasted into the second half of the eighth century. The numerical strength of the Slavic tribes arriving in the Eastern Alps, — a region of low population density from time immemorial and even depopulated during the great migrations — has been estimated not to have exceeded 200,000 people. The old settlements of the provinces of Noricum (present-day Styria, Upper Carinthia and East Tyrol) and Pannonia (present-day East Styria, Lower Carinthia, Carniola, Kras and the Soča River valley) were very probably desolate and in ruins when captured by the Slavs, but not void of autochtonous inhabitants.[3] The new Slavic settlements were neither numerous, large nor evenly distributed. The archeological evidence indicates that they were originally concentrated in the periphery of large open fields and valleys in the Drava and the Sava River systems, and on the slopes of the hilly countryside of the Eastern Alpine Foreland.[4] The mountainous terrain in the northwestern Alpine valleys still further reduced their number, size and distribution.

Historians also claim that the majority of the population in the Eastern Alps, being mostly Roman or at least superficially Romanized autochtones and speaking either a substandard Latin vernacular or dialects of the old Keltic and Illyrian languages (the Germanic population,

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[3] The term *autochton*, *autochtonous*, used here in a broad sense, means simply a pre-Slavic population of the Eastern Alps. Note also that the old Christian centers of the region, Scarabantia (today's Sopron in Hungary), Poetovio (Ptuj), Celea (Celje), Emona (Sle. Ljubljana), Virunum (Sle. Gospa Sveta, Germ. Maria Saal, in Carinthia), Teurnia (near Spittal on the Drava River, in Upper Carinthia), and Aguntum (near Lienz, in East Tyrol), ceased to function as diocesan sees, very probably, already after the departure of their bishops between 579-591 A.D. (F. Kos 1902, No. 85).

[4] See Bogo Grafenauer 1964, 287-297.

Gothic and Langobard, must have been numerically insignificant), moved partially out before the arrival of the Slavs. Moving into the western Alpine regions and those areas which later became Friulian, and practically up to the mountain regions, they changed their way of life and existence by switching to semi-nomadic seasonal Alpine dairy farming. The rest of the autochtonous population, which remained in the area and survived the Slavic conquest, was later assimilated.[5]

The high tide of Slavic migrations in the Eatern Alps reached the Langobard *limes* and the source of the Drava River in the West, and a line joining the southeastern slopes of the Hohere and Niedere Tauern, Dachstein, and Totes Gebirge, continuing along the Trauna River to its mouth on the Danube in the north, with the many empty pockets in between filled by a later colonization.

The neighbors of the Slavs along this boundary were at first the Franks and the Bavarians on the north, the Langobards on the West, the Avars by and large on the east (although they must also have been sporadically interspersed among the Slavs in the Eastern Alps still for several decades), and the Slavic tribes on the left bank of the Danube, across Pannonia and between the Drava River and Adriatic Sea.

Thus, the Slavic tribes in the Eastern Alps were part of an unbroken territorial-linguistic continuum in which no sharp dialectal isoglosses still could be drawn.

THE FORMATION OF THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE There is no first-hand linguistic documentation to support the claim that the speech of the Slavic tribes at the time of their settlement in the Eastern Alps was part of a Common Slavic *linquistic continuum*. On the other hand, the comparative evidence indicates that the spoken Slavic of the second half of the sixth century, and certainly the speech of the Slavic tribes moving along the slopes of the Western Carpathians and across Lower Pannonia, was not yet divided by any major bundle of isoglosses into already disparate dialectal entities. This is not to say that there did not exist a number of different evolutions in Common Slavic whose results are attested in modern Slavic languages, such as **x* > *ś* > *s* versus *š* by the 2nd palatalization, **tl*, **dl* > *l* versus *tl*, *dl*, or **ort-*, **olt-* under falling intonation > *rat-*, *lat-* versus *rot-*, *lot-*, which serve today for classification of the Slavic languages. E.g.,

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[5] B. Grafenauer, 298-325.

**x* > *ś* > *s* vs. *š*: OCS *mouxa*, *mousě* (dat.sg.), *sěrъ*, *sědъ*; Russ. *seryj*, *sedoj*; SCr. *muha*, *musi*, *ser* and *sijer*, *sed* and *sijed*; Sle. *ser*, *sed*; Cz. *moucha*, *mouše*, *šerý*, *šedý*; Cent. Slk. *mucha*, *muse*, however, *šedý*, *šerý*;

**tl*, **dl* > *l* vs. *tl*, *dl*: OCS *pasti* (inf.) *padla* (past. act. part. fem.sg.), *krilo*, *moliti*, *se*; Russ. *past' pala*, *krilo*, *molit'*; CSS *pasti padla* and *pala*, *krilo*, *moliti*; Sle. dial. *kridwo*, *modliti*; Cz. *vedu vedla*, *křídlo*, *modliti se*; Centr. Slk. *pasti pala* and *padla*, *krilo*, *mollit' sa*;

**ort-*, **olt-* under falling intonation > *rat-*, *lat-* vs. *rot-*, *lot-*: OCS *rasti* (inf.), *lakъtь*; Russ. *rost'* (subst.), *lȯkot'*; SCr. *râsti*, *lakat*; Sle. *râsti*, *lâket*; Cz. *růsti*, *loket'*; Slk. *rast'*, *loket'*; Centr. Slk. *rast'*, *laket'*.

None of these differences, however, could be interpreted to mean that sharp dialectal boundaries were present in Common Slavic, or to serve to define any clear-cut Common Slavic dialects before 600 A.D. Even several centuries later there were no stable linguistic boundaries in the Slavic territorial continuum. Such boundaries are created by prolonged separations of speech areas which, in the Eastern Alpine region took place only as a consequence of Bavarian colonization of the regions of Lower Austria, and the expansion of Magyars into the adjoining areas of Lower Pannonia between the Leitha River and Lake Balaton (second half of the 11th century).

The fact that linguistic variance in a *territorial* continuum is proportionate to the distance on its geographical spatial axis, and that a *linguistic* "continuum" does not preclude the existence of embrionic evolutionary tendencies in the speech of closed social units or even of less definite groupings, warrant that we conceive such a "continuum" as a system of graded transitional speech zones, able to maintain their similarities and differences so long as their speakers maintain a certain level of direct and indirect contact. Such a transitional linguistic continuum might have linked the speech of Slavic tribes in territorial contact from the Balkans through Pannonia and across the Danube River. Breaks in this continuum, leading to an isolation of speech zones, were primarily responsible for the growth of separated dialects and individual languages. Moreover, the acceptance of the idea that such a "continuum" existed at the time of the Slavic settlement of the Eastern Alps allows us to admit the possibility that the pre-Slovene migrational currents need not have been tribally homogeneous after all. This notion was formulated first by Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and is strongly supported today by investigations of the lexicon of numerous Slavic areas.

There are, of course, a number of other factors at work in the process of the growth and formation of a language which are connected with the fate of its speakers through time. These essentially *sociolinguistic* factors are present at the very moment a dialectal unit begins its own existence and are ultimately responsible for its growth as a separate linguistic entity. We will discuss here those factors which seemed to be crucial in the development of the Eastern Alpine Slavic dialects into Slovene, a separate language. The most important among them are: (1) the strength of the earliest settlements. Were they territorially compact or diffuse, existentially expansionary or retracting? How did they treat their substratum population? (2) the spatial cohesiveness of the speech territory. Were the new speech communities able to secure their territorial unity and for how long? Were they exposed to later colonizations from the outside? (3) the strength of societal impulses in broader speech communities. Was a society in its history socially stratified, when, and for how long? Was such a society able to generate its own integrational impulses? How did it respond if such impulses came from the outside? And finally (4) the basic problem in the evolution of languages. Was such an early-ethnic speech community able to maintain territorially its native linguistic intercourse (communication) and was such a community able to differentiate it functionally? The answers to these questions can ultimately reveal the history of a language.

Oddly enough, in the history of the formation of the Slovene language the answers to the first set of questions seem to be negative. The earliest settlements of the Slovene ancestors in the Alps were uneven and very often thin and diffuse outside of the geographic contours of its present-day speech area. It is therefore understandable that the high tide of Slavic expansion into the Eastern Alps during the 7th-9th centuries later ebbed under the pressure of German colonists from the north. By 1100, all Upper Styria and Upper Carinthia valleys were already German and the boundary of the Slavic speech-communities approached the limits of the Slovene speech area of today.[6]

On the other hand, history does speak of territorial expansion of the Slovene ancestors at least in two directions. Twice it proceeded eastward: first into the lands of today's Eastern Styria at the time of the weakening of Avar power in Pannonia, particularly after the settlement of the Hungarians (895 A.D.), and subsequently into the western fringe of the Pannonian plain, east of the Mura River toward the Raba and Zala Rivers and Lake Balaton (Sle. Blatno jezero) in the beginning of the 9th century. And secondly, in a southwestward direction, in an expansion in Istria, which brought Slovenes into the hinterland of the North Istrian cities of Milje (It. Muggia), Koper (It. Capodistria), and Piran (It. Pirano) after 800 A.D.

The internal colonization of Eastern Alpine territory was, of course, still another aspect of this expansion. It proceeded from the original centers of settlement after their demographic consolidation and lasted into the 13th century. This movement of population directed itself into the isolated pocket areas, which were "skipped" in the first conquest which determined the farthest limits of the settled territory (e.g., the Soča River valley was such a pocket, in some isolated areas colonized only after the 10th century). This internal colonization proceeded into the still nonpopulated forest regions which, in some areas were extensive (e.g., the territories between the Raba and Mura Rivers, and the southwestern Dolenjsko and Notranjsko), and into the elevated positions above low-land valleys. This process was later continued by feudal landlords, many of whom colonized these same areas with a non-Slavic, German population (e.g., previous Bavarian Rovte, the Sorško polje, the Bohinj-Bled-Radovljica triangle, the Dravsko polje and the Kočevje area).[7]

The ethnic substratum of the settled areas was probably very soon absorbed by the Slavs. The existence of such a substratum can be indirectly inferred from the ethnicon *Vlah* and its derived forms found in numerous place names, e.g., Vualaha in Upper Carinthia (980), Laschkitze at Lienz in today's East Tyrol, Vlasendorf in Upper Carinthia (1397), Lahovče in Upper Carniola, Laška vas in Lower Styria. Some traces of the language of the old Roman and Romanized autochtonous population are to be found in the Slovene dialectal lexicon for traditional branches of the Alpine economy with prehistoric roots, such as dairy farming and matallurgy (e.g., *tamar* 'hurdle,' *mandrač* 'enclosure for cattle'), in topographic terms (e.g., *mir* 'wall,' *kras* 'karst'), and in toponomy, e.g., in the pre-Slavic names of major rivers (Savus - Sava, Dravus - Drava, Sontius - the Soča River, Arabone - the Raba River, Corca - the Krka River), and place names (Poetovio - Ptuj, Celea - Celje, Carnium - Kranj, Longaticum - Logatec, civitatem - Čedad). Some inherent properties of the language of these autochtones must have also entered the structure of later Slovene, but this aspect of linguistic diffusion resulting from ethnogenetic symbiosis, including the century-long ethnogenetic mixing with the non-Slavic adstratum, sometimes superstratum in Slovene lands (Avar, Bavarian, and Frankish), has not been sufficiently researched to allow any firm inferences.[8]

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[6] See B. Grafenauer 1965, 163-184.

[7] B. Grafenauer, 1965, 221-236.

The territorial unity of the Slavic speech area in the Eastern Alps was certainly preserved during the time of Avar control over Pannonia, the Alpine regions, and the upper Adriatic area. This period might have even lasted much longer than is usually suggested by historians. The Avaro-Slavic defeat before Constantinople (626 A.D.) and Samo's Slavic tribal union (623-658 A.D.) did not eliminate the power of the Avars, however. On the contrary, their control of the area, which in the territories between Karavanke, Pannonia and the Adriatic must have grown stronger, continued well into the second half of the eighth century and thus must have provided a favorable ground for an inter-tribal communication among the Slavic tribes. It was the process of the emancipation of the first Slavic tribal state from Avar rule (e.g., in the Karantania north of the Karavanke, probably since 658, but definitely since 743 A.D.), which narrowed down the original inter-tribal communication field and consequently the extent of its common linguistic innovations.

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[8] Cf. Bezlaj 1967, 28-36.

487	Longobards occupy the Kingdom of the Rugii, an area which coincides roughly with Austria north of the Danube.
505	Longobards control the entire area south of the Danube down to Lake Balaton.
546	Longobards move into Pannonia, formerly Ostrogothic land.
550	Slavic tribes from the western Carpathians advance into the Eastern Alpine regions vacated by the Longobards, and settle the territories of today's Lower and Upper Austria between Wienerwald on the east and the line Hausruck range-Danube highlands-Bohemian Forest on the west.
566-567	Avars settle in the southeastern part of the Pannonian plain, north of Singidunum and Sirmium.
568	Longobards leave the Pannonian plain.
568-593	The Avars and Slavs conquer the Kras and Eastern Alpine regions south and east of a line joining the Hohe and the Niedere Tauern, Dachstein, Totes Gebirge, and Bohemian Forest.
582	Avars conquer Sirmium.
584	From this year onward, the Avars and Slavs annually raid the lands across the Danube southwards toward the Balkans.
593	Slavs and Bavarians first encounter each other in the Alps.

Table 1. THE SETTLEMENT OF SLAVS IN THE EASTERN ALPS

However, in 743 A.D. the Slovene principality of Karantania surrendered to the Duchy of Bavaria, and, in 788, together with Bavaria, passed under the control of the Frankish empire. The liquidation of the Avar stronghold in Pannonia (796) and the subsequent Ost-Politik of Charlemagne once again united a major part of the Slavic Eastern Alpine speech area and even extended it northwestward into Pannonia. The new Frankish interest for these eastern lands, however, opened the door to a new colonization process from the west. The creation of an *Ostarichi* in 796 A.D. along the Danube (later *Oester-Reich*) laid the foundation for present-day Austria.[9] A massive German population advance across the Enns River into the Vienna basin and the Alpine foreland for the later Niederoesterreich (Lower Austria), during the following centuries, outnumbered and submerged the Slavic population and cut forever their immediate linguistic contact with the Western Slavs, the later Czechs and Slovaks. The Hungarian invasion of Pannonia (895) destroyed the immediate linguistic contact with the later Slovaks, Bulgarians, and all Eastern Slavs. On the level of dialects this contact still persisted for some time but it could not survive, however, the ethnic expansion of Hungarians into the Lake Balaton region and beyond.

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[9] The name *Ostarichi* seems to have been current already in the Carlingian period; the Latin form *Austria* was introduced in the twelfth century.

623-658 A.D.	Time of Samo's tribal union, by 630 including the "Marca Winedorum" of the "Wallucus Dux," located presumably in the Eastern Alps.
743	Bavarians answer a call for help from Duke Borut (Boruch) of Karantania, pressed by an Avar invasion. The Avars are driven off, but Karantania remains under Bavarian control. Duke Borut sends his son Gorazd (Karastus) and his nephew Hotimir (Cheitmar) as hostages to Bavaria and concedes a "conversion" of his land to Christianity. On this occasion the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Aquilea over the territories north of the Drava River is transferred to Salzburg.
749-752	Reign of Duke Gorazd of Karantania marks beginning of Christianization of Karantanian society.
752-769	Reign of Duke Hotimir of Karantania coincided with a time of an intensive growth of Irish-Scottish missionary activity in the Eastern Alps. A special Chorepiscopus Modestus with four missionaries laid the foundations of an ecclesiastic organization of Karantania.
769-772	Internal insurrection against foreign and Christian influence in Karantania leads to a Bavarian intervention.
772-820	The Dukes of Karantania: Waltunc, Pribislav, Semiko, Stojmir, Edgar.
780	Bavaria with Karantania is incorporated into the Frankish Empire.

Table 2. THE EVOLUTION OF KARANTANIA IN THE E[illegible]TERN ALPS

At the same time, German colonization of the Eastern Alpine territories marks the beginning of a new parcelling of the Slovene speech area into the dynastic, ecclesiastic, and later administrative territories or the so-called historical lands of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Gorizia and Gradisca, Trieste, and Istria. These lands were later reunited under the Habsburgs by Maximilian I (1493-1519) as part of Inner Austria, a dynastic-administrative structure which was ethnically most heterogeneous. Of all the Inner Austrian lands, only Carniola was completely Slovene ethnically; Styria and Carinthia were shared with a German majority, Gorizia with Friulians and Germans, Trieste and Istria with the descendants of old Roman settlers and Friulians. On the other hand, the Prekmurje was under the Hungarian crown since about 1000 A.D., and Slovenska Benečija (Slavia Friuliana) under Venice from 1420 onward. Paradoxically, the administrative center of the Inner Austrian lands was Graz in Styria (the old Slovene settlement of Gradec, from **gradьcь* 'a fortified place,' attested in 1135). The other "capitals" of individual lands were: Klagenfurt of Carinthia (the old Slovene settlement of Celovec), Gorizia of the county of Gorizia (the old Slovene settlement of Gorica, from **gorica* 'a higher place,' attested in 1001), Trieste (old Tergeste), Capodistria of the Slovene part of Istria (the old Justinopolis, caput Ystrie, Capris, Sle. Koper), Cividale (from the old Foroiuliensis civitas, Sle. Čedad) for Venetian Slovenia, and Laibach - Ljubljana for Carniola (documented as Luwigana in 1146; the name of the old settlement of Emona was lost in history).[10] The population of these cities was, of course, only partially Slovene.

The only immediate contact which the Alpine Slavs have retained with other Slavs is across Istria and the Sotla and Kolpa Rivers; it is here that the Slavic continuum for a long time remained undifferentiated, either ethnically or linguistically. Linguistically, the chain of dialects across the Sotla and the Kolpa still testifies to an original linguistic continuum of a single Slavic language, *slověnьskъ*, which, only secondarily, though not arbitrarily, became ethnically divided. The expansion of the Hungarian and German political spheres toward both sides of the Sotla River and the Gorjanci range (about the year 1000) created an artificial boundary which led only much later to a sociolinguistic differentiation of the Croats and Slovenes.

Very little is known about the social structure of the earliest Slavic population in the Eastern Alps. The oldest linguistic evidence which may reflect a social stratification of a primitive society beyond the stage of extended kinship is attested by the following terms: *župan* (ille jopan qui vocatur Physso, 777 A.D.[11]), presumably 'leader of a community of one or more tribes' (cf., *župa*); and *kosez* (from **kosęgъ*) 'noble man,' with a German equivalent Edlinger; the latter was preserved in place names and documents until the 16th century. The native dukes of the Principality of Karantania, referred to as *duces* in Latin documents,[12] were probably *knezi* (sg. *knez*, from **kъnęgъ*) or *vladike* (sg. *vladika*, from **voldyka*, perhaps already in Wallucus, Walducus of *The Chronicle of Fredegar* for about 630 A.D.[13]). In Slavic form the term *knez* is not attested in historical documents; it has been preserved, however, in Slovene toponyma, e.g., Knežak in Carniola; Kneža (1322), Germ. Grafenbach; rivulet Gnas in Upper Carinthia; aqua Knesaha (1229) in Upper Styria.[14]

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[10] B. Grafenauer 1965, 290-308.

[11] F. Kos 1902, No. 256.

[12] E.g., "dux eorum Boruth nomine" (ca. 745 A.D.); cf. F. Kos, 1902, No. 220.

[13] Cf. F. Kos 1902, No. 164.

[14] See Milko Kos, "Vojvoda in knez v krajevnih imenih," *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, 24 (Ljubljana, 1943), 80-86.

The incorporation of the Slovene lands into the Frankish empire led to their inclusion into the secular, as well as ecclesiastic feudal system of the West. The slow extinction of the native nobility soon followed. By the 13th century, two basic social strata in general dominate in the Slovene lands: the privileged feudal lords or their representatives, who are German, and the subservient, unfree peasant vassals, who are, as a rule, Slovene. Thus, an imposed social stratification was also an ethnic stratification with cultural and linguistic implications. The language of the socially higher class was the language of education, culture and prestige, and this language was at first Latin, then German. Slovene, as the language of the subjected, noneducated, socially subservient class, was without any prestige beyond the circle of the narrow village settlement.

The formation of Slavic Karantania in the Eastern Alps was certainly a socially most relevant native impulse which might have had a powerful influence on an early development of Slovene ethnic individuality had it preserved its independent political character some centuries longer. Presumably, it existed already at the time of Samo's tribal union (623-658 A.D.). The earliest historical sources speak of a *marca Winedorum* in 631; the Frankish annals mention *Carenthia* in 772 and *provincia Karantana* in 811. The name applied first to the territory of today's Carinthia, but it was later extended to cover also Lower Pannonia in the term *regnum Carantanorum* (ab. 700).[15] This "kingdom of Karantanians" reached a maximal extent in 976 when, as a "greater Karantania," it included most of the Slovene lands. By that time, however, it was already part of the Ottonian Empire. The native state-formational impulse thus died out before it could become a factor in the evolution of a national language.[16]

The short-lived Slavic Pannonian Principality of Pribina and Kocelj (847 - ab. 874) which, for more than a generation, united at least a part of the ancestors of today's Pannonian Slovenes and brought them in an immediate contact with Constantine and Methodius' mission, was only an episode, too ephemeral and too transient to be able to have any social impact in Slovene history and on the evolution of the Slovene language.[17]

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[15] F. Kos 1902, No. 164; No. 244; F. Kos 1906 (vol. 2), No. 37; F. Kos 1902, No. 194 (cf. also F. Kos 1906, Nos. 286, 300, 400).

[16] B. Grafenauer 1965, 57-87, 107-110, 144-156.

847 A.D.	Louis the German, the ruler of the Eastern part of the Empire, appoints Pribina (Privina) as the Margrave of Lower Pannonia.
847-861	Pribina administers Lower Pannonia, a margraviate which presumably extended from today's Ptuj in Slovenia to Pécs in Hungary. His capital was Mosapurch (Blatograd) on Lake Balaton.
861-874	Pribina's son Kocel (Cozil or Chezul) is the Duke of Lower Pannonia.
863/864	Arrival of Constantine and Methodius to Moravia.
866	On their way to Rome, Constantine and Methodius stop at Mosapurch (Blatograd). "Kocel, the prince of Pannonia, received them and took great liking to the Slavic letters. He learned them himself, and gave the brothers about fifty students to be taught them." (The Vita of Constantine, XV)
869	Methodius returns to Blatograd and stays one year with Kocel.
870	For the second time Methodius visits Rome. He returns to Kocel as Bishop of Pannonia of the See of St. Andronicus.
870-874	Methodius held as prisoner by Bavarian bishops. When released, he presumably stayed in Pannonia.
896	Hungarians settle in Pannonia.

Table 3. THE EVENTS RELATED TO THE PRINCIPALITY OF LOWER PANNONIA

The conversion to Christianity was another socially relevant event in the history of the Eastern Alpine Slavs. Although it came from the outside, it became a sociolinguistically significant factor in the evolution of the Slovene language. The Christian missionaries of Aquilea (Sle. *Oglej*) were probably the first to reach the forefathers of today's Slovenes, although those from Salzburg were apparently more successful and left more of a lasting impact on Slovene history. The Duke of Karantania with his princes converted to Christianity in the middle of the 8th century (750 A.D.) but it is not know when, under what conditions, and how consciously the common people accepted the new religion. However, a close interrelation between religion and the vernacular begins to operate in time with every such conversion, which has a dual effect on the evolution of the latter: one aspect concerns its elevation to a functional level different from its everyday use, the other the infusion of a new, relatively strong integrative bond into its speech community.

The first written record of such a functional vernacular is also the first document of its new existence on a slightly higher level of its lower social stratum. The *Freising Fragments* (ab. 1000 A.D.), the oldest datable Slavic manuscript, are the first written record of a new Slovene language. Supposing that they reflect the common early Carolingian practice of allowing "nationes" of the Empire to use basic liturgical and homiletic texts in the vernacular, we may assume that they symbolize, as it were, two primary sociolinguistic functions that a written language performs in a society: the unifying and the prestige function, however modest they might have been at that time. It is not likely, however, that the *Freising Fragments* created a written tradition in Slovene lands. The fact that later centuries produced several other religious records of written Slovene (e.g., the *MS of Rateče-Celovec*, ab. 1370, the *MSS of Stična*, ab. 1428-1440, the *MS of Stara gora*, ab. 1492-1498) would hardly prove such a claim. It is therefore more than plausible to believe that Slovene was normally not written before the mid-sixteenth century, whereas in speech it functioned on the lowest level of the sociolinguistic scale. It is obvious that the modern concept of the "Slovene language," or anything "Slovene," for that matter, did not exist during these centuries.

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[17] B. Grafenauer 1965, 88-106, 110-124.

ca. 900	Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the German, and his son Arnulf (ca. 850-899) united almost all Slovene speech territory of the time into the March of Karantania.
955	The defeat of Magyars in the battle of the Lechfeld, near Augsburg. The beginning of organization of new marks under the Babenbergs in what was till the 11th century referred to as "the greater Karantania".
ca. 1000	The date of the *Freising Fragments*.
12th Cent.	The Slovene speech territory is fragmented between the feudal dynasties including the Babenberg, Eppenstein, Ortenburg, Spanheim, Traungau and Andechs families. Their marks and dynastic territories later become known as the lands of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Gorizia, and Istria.
1282	Rudolf I of Habsburg invests his two sons Albert and Rudolf with Austria, Styria, Carinthia, the Windisch Mark (Slovenska marka), and Carniola.
1493-1519	During the rule of Maximilian I, most of the lands of the Slovene speech territory are united under the Habsburgs.

Table 4. THE UNIFICATION OF SLOVENE LANDS UNDER THE HABSBURGS

PERIODIZATION OF ITS HISTORY The history of the Slovene language is characterized by two evolutions: its development as a natural language and its development as a literary standard. In our discussion these two evolutions will be presented separately.

While the evolution of the literary standard represents, in fact, a history of a more or less normalized language with a relatively stable structure, the real history of Slovene lies in its vernacular which for centuries existed in the dialects. Thus, the history of Slovene as a natural language is the history of the spoken language and its various dialectal forms. Its beginning must be sought in the speech of the earliest Slavic settlers in the Eastern Alps and its development in the evolution of those characteristic traits that distinguish it from other languages of the same Slavic family.

When exactly the evolution of Slovene began, we cannot know. What we know is that in language, as in other phenomena of life, change, continuous motion are uninterrupted, and the influence of constant factors which are infinitesimal at any given moment may bring about radical alternations.[18] Thus, the oldest innovations in the Eastern Alpine Slavic must have stemmed from the embrionic differences brought by its earliest speakers into their new habitat. Its later evolution, as it has been shown, was promoted by those forces which govern language dialectalization, including life in restricted communities and the lack of broader intercourse among men. In the case of Slovene, the topography of the Eastern Alpine area on the one hand, and the political fate and social history of its speakers on the other, played crucial roles in its dialectalization.

The history of natural Slovene really knows no periods. Within its dialectal bases and groups it shows a surprising continuity in development from prehistoric times to our days. If, however, we wish to impose a periodization upon this continuity, we do so on the basis of observed concurrent and cumulative changes which, in our judgment, significantly affected its evolution. Such periods in the history of Slovene, therefore, may be the following:

The first period, which extended somewhat from the middle of the eighth until the end of the tenth century, is defined as the time of the individualization of Slovene. The dissolution of Common Slavic and its relatively uniform dialectal base, which we called Eastern Alpine Slavic, preceded the *Freising Fragments*, which mark the close of this evolution. This period may be called *Old Slovene*.

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[18] Cf. Baudouin de Courtenay, J., "Linguistics of the Nineteenth Century" (1904), quoted from *A Baudouin de Courtenay Anthology*. . . . Translated and edited with an introduction by Edward Stankiewicz (Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1972), 242.

The development during the ensuing period, down to about the end of the fifteenth century, is marked by changes in the structure of the language which established the historical grooves of the evolution of Slovene as we know it today. All major evolutionary tendencies of modern Slovene are anchored here. The oldest texts preserved from this period reflect already well-individualized dialectal bases of the language. This period may be called *Middle Slovene*.

From the sixteenth century to the present we can speak of *Modern Slovene*. The beginning of this period is characterized by an intensive dialectalization, caused by a vowel reduction process which drastically modified the morphological and word formational structure of the spoken language. Initially limited to the central dialects, this modern vowel reduction drift subsequently extended to dialects beyond the original area and began to influence the written language which, at the very start of this period, received its first codification.

From the end of the eighteenth century on, new centripetal and unifying tendencies appeared in Modern Slovene. The broadening of the dialectal bases of the written language helped the growth of the Slovene educated koiné which, in turn, began to show some influence on the centrifugal evolution of Slovene dialects in the middle of the next century. During the twentieth century the impact of literacy and the effect of written Slovene on the spoken language intensified, and new interdialects of educated speakers began to develop. At the beginning of the second half of our century the dialects began to recede before the increased impact of urban speech. While the first Slovene grammarians modelled the standard norm of the educated speech which mirrored the central dialects (that is, the Lower and Upper Carniolan dialects on which the sixteenth-century Protestants based their written Slovene), it was only after 1945 that some conscious efforts were made to broaden this dialectal platform of the written Slovene language. Only recently, with the publication of the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*,[19] has appeared the first serious attempt to loosen its ties with all the dialects.

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[19] *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*. Ed. A. Bajec et al. Ljubljana: SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik. [In progress: Vol. I (A-H): 1970; Vol. 2 (I-Na): 1975; Vol. 3 (Ne-Pren): 1979].

CHAPTER TWO

SLOVENE AMONG OTHER SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

The relationship between Slovene and other Slavic languages and dialects will be examined in two ways: vertically, as it were, by contrasting it to related standard languages; and horizontally, by attempting to determine its position within the geographic string of dialects with which it forms a historic linguistic chain. On the level of standard languages, our points of reference will be modern Russian and standard Serbo-Croatian, on the level of dialects, Kajkavian and Čakavian of the South Slavic languages, and Czech and Slovak of the West Slavic group. The inventory of selected similarities and differences between dialects and languages will help us both to separate the primary embrionic tendencies from the subsequent parallel, shared, or opposed evolutions, and to formulate a stratification of contacts relevant for the history of Slovene.

We do not know in what way and to what extent the speech of the Slavs who settled in the Eastern Alpine valleys at the end of the sixth century differed from the speech of Slavic tribes who were not in the same migrational wave. Assuming that Alpine Slavic was a part of a linguistic continuum (with no significant dialectal differences at the time of resettlement), the inference is obvious: the ultimate elucidation of the evolutionary tendencies of late Common Slavic, inherited and gradually accruing through generations, must have taken place only after the resettlement of the Slavic tribes. The changes which finally transformed the "insignificant" varieties inside the continuum into the "distinctive" differences of individual languages (e.g., *tårt* > *trat*, *tl* and *dl* > *l*, *ti̯* > *t'*, *di̯* > *d'*), including those innovations which linked Alpine Slavic with broader areas of the continuum (e.g., *ć* > *ĉ* and *č*; ə̄ > *ę̄* and *ā*; *ę* > *ę* and *ę*; *ǫ* > *ǫ* and *ǫ*; *e̿* > *ē* and *ę̄*), were therefore part of a several centuries-long process of the individualization of Alpine Slavic and adjoining "dialects." The oldest record of Alpine Slavic itself, the *Freising Fragments*, which date only from the end of the tenth century, clearly document this early individualization of the Slovene dialects, because even at that stage of evolution, the early differences and divergencies of Alpine Slavic do not allow us to speak of a "common Slovene language" as yet.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SLOVENE Our characterization of Slovene as a contemporary Slavic language is based on description of the only concrete form and structure of contemporary Slovene we possess, its Contemporary Standard Slovene norm conceived as a common denominator of most of its dialectal commonalities and variations. The following features of the structure of CSS portray the most widespread characteristics of Slovene vis-à-vis other Slavic languages:[1]

1. The utilization of the prosodic features of tone (rising vs. falling) and quantity (long vs. short) in a phonological structure in which the prosodic and vocalic quantity regulates the word accent. It is only long vowels which carry the accent and there can be only one long vowel in a word; if there is none, the accent falls on the last syllable. The tone and quantity are interdependent in this system in the sense that again only long vowels may carry tone distinctions. Hence, there are three accents in Slovene: long rising /ˊ/, long falling /ˆ/, and short /ˋ/ (orthographically signaled ˋ). E.g., *vráta, krȃva, mesǫ̂, brȁt*; gen. pl. *vrát* 'door' vs. nom. sg. *vrȃt* 'neck'; 1 pl. pres. t. *govorîte* vs. 2 pl. imper. *govorîte*; *deskà* and *dȅska* [*dəskà, də̂ska* and *də̏ska*].

> Note that quantity (length) in Slovene appears only under stress. Phonologically, stress in this system is concomitant with any long vowell (of which a word can have no more than one). If there are no long vowels in a word, stress falls on the final syllable. Thus, as a rule, an internal stressed

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[1] An alternative methodology, taking the Slovene dialect as the point of departure for such a characterization, would be much more complex. It is obvious why we could not apply the model of modern structural dialectology here; we use it, however, in our presentation of the relations between Slovene, Kajkavian and Čakavian.

vowel in Slovene is long, the only exception being /ə/, which is inherently short.[2]

In the system utilizing tone and quantity, only long syllables may carry the tone distinction. Short syllables have a phonetical [ˆ] which on a non-final /ə/ may have a free variant-phonetical [`].

2. Two word accent positions contrasting with respective positions in some other Slavic languages; the positions reflect two stress shifts characteristic of Slovene, viz.,

(a) the retraction of the stress from a CS final short syllable to a preceding long vowel, e.g., *zvẹ́zda* vs. CS **zvězdà,* Russ. *zvezdà*; *národ* vs. Russ. *naròd*; as well as to a preceding short syllable, e.g., *góra* vs. CS **gorà,* Russ. *gorà*; *séstra* vs. Russ. *sestrà*; *žéna* vs. Russ. *ženà*; in case of /ə/ in Slovene doublets are admitted, e. g., *dəskȁ* and *də̏ska,* CS **dъska,* Russ. *doskà*. The retracted accent in Slovene is rising; and

(b) the progressive shift of the Slovene long falling accent to the following syllable in the word, e.g., *okọ̑* vs. CS **ȍko,* SCr. *ȍko,* Russ. *òko*; *zlatọ̑* vs. CS **zȏlto,* SCr. *zlȃto,* Russ. *zòloto*; *mesọ̑* vs. CS **mę̑so,* SCr. *mȇso,* Russ. *mjàso.*

3. The subordination of vowel quality to vowel quantity. The accented vowels in Slovene tended to become long and tense, and later diphthongized (e.g., in dialects: *ē > ei, ō > ow* and *wo*), whereas the unaccented vowels tended to become short and lax, and later reduced (e.g., in dialects: *sọ́diti > sọ́dət, sekírica > skírca, práviti > práwt, prȃvim > prȃvəm > prȃwm.*

4. The reflexes of the CS liquid diphthongs: (a) the CS **tårt, *tålt, *tert, *telt* groups are represented by *trat, tlat, trět, tlět*; e.g., *kráva* vs. CS **kárva,* SCr. *krȁva,* Russ. *koròva,* Cz. *kráva*; *bláto* vs. CS **bálto,* SCr. *blȁto,* Russ. *bolòto,* Cz. *bláto*; *brẹ́za* vs. CS **bérza,* SCr. *brȅza,* Russ. *berëza,* Cz. *bříza*; *mlẹ́ko* vs. CS **mélko,* Scr. *mléko* and *mlijèko,* Russ. *molokò,* Cz. *mléko*; and

(b) the CS **tъrt, *tъlt, *tьrt, *tьlt* groups, as well as the CS **trъt, *tlъt, *trьt, *tlьt* sequences are represented by *tr̥t* and *tl̥t*; the syllabic *l̥* in Slovene later changed to *ol* (pronounced *ow*). E.g., *gŕlo,* CS **gъrdlo,* Scr. *gȑlo,* Russ. *gòrlo,* Cz. *hrdlo*; *dôlg/dôwk/* 'debt,' CS **dъlgъ,* Scr. *dȗg,* Russ. *dolg,* Cz. *dluh*; *vŕba,* CS **vьrba,* Scr. *vŕba,* Russ. *vérba,* Cz. *vrba*; *vólk/vówk/,* CS **vьlkъ,* SCr. *vȗk,* Russ. *volk,*

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[2] The case with a short non-final syllable under accent and the question of the secondary stress in CSS are treated in Chapter Five.

Cz. *vlk*; *obȓv/obə̀rv/*, CS **brъvь*, SCr. *ȍbrva*, Russ. *brov'*, Cz. *brva*; *bôlha/bôwha/*, CS **blъxa*, SCr. *bȕha*, Russ. *bloxá*, Cz. *blcha*; *kŕst/kə̀rst/* vs. CS **krьstъ* SCr. *kȓst*, Russ. *krest*, Cz. *křest*; and *sôlza/sôwza/* vs. CS **slьza*, SCr. *sȕza*, Russ. *slezá*, Cz. *slza*.

5. The reflex of the Common Slavic back nasal **ǫ* is a vowel, in general more open than */u/*;[3] in CSS it is */ǫ/*; e.g., *pǫ́t* vs. CS *pǫtъ*, SCr. *pȗt*, Russ. *put'*, Cz. *pout*; *zǫ̑b*, CS **zǫbъ*, SCr. *zȗb*, Russ. *zub*, Cz. *zub*; and *rőka*, CS **rǫka*, SCr. *rúka*, Russ. *ruká* Cz.*ruka* . The *Freising Fragments'* notation of **ǫ* is not conclusive; they have *o* (31 times) and *u* (46 times), but also *on* and *un* (each only once) for old back nasal.[4]

6. The reflexes of the Common Slavic jers /ъ, ь/ are: *a* in long syllables and ə (orthogr. *e*) in short. The merger of both jers in one reflex is attested in the *Freising Fragments'* notation of them in strong position. E.g., *dȃn* vs. CS **dьnъ*, SCr. *dȃn*, Russ. *den'*, Cz. *den*; *sen/sə̀n/* vs. CS **sъnъ*, SCr. *sȁn*, Russ. *son*, Cz. *sen*; *ves/və̀s/* vs. CS **vьsь*, SCr. *sȁv*, Russ. *ves'*, Old Cz. *veš*.

7. The Common Slavic *y* and *i* merged into *i*; e.g., *sîn* vs. CS **synъ*, SCr. *sȋn*, Russ. *syn* Cz. *syn*; *sînji* vs. CS **sinьjь*, SCr. *sȋnjī*, Russ. *sínij*, Cz. *siný*; *dim* vs. CS **dymъ*, SCr. *dȋm*, Russ. *dym*, Cz. *dým*. Except in positions after labial consonants, this merger is attested in the *Freising Fragments*.

Thus, the merger of both, of ъ and ь, and of *y* and *i*, signals the liquidation of the palatalizing influence of front vowels on the preceding consonant, in agreement with this evolution in other South Slavic languages. E.g., *vés/və̀s/* 'entire' vs. Russ. *ves'/v,es,/*; *sînji/sînji/* vs. Russ. *sinij/s,ín,ij/*. The *Freising Fragments'* notation of these reflexes clearly indicates this situation in Slovene.

8. The Slovene reflexes of the Common Slavic **t'* and **kt'* and **gt'* are *č*, of the CS **d'* is *j*. E.g., *svéča* vs. CS **světja*, SCr. *svéća* and

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[3] All the differences in the reflexes of **ǫ* in Slovene dialects are implied with such a definition. I wish to thank Pavle Ivić for this suggestion.

[4] Cf. J. Rigler's convincing arguments against the assumption that the *Freising Fragments'* notation of nasals may indicate their early denasalization. See Rigler 1963, 29.

svijèća, Russ. *svečá*, Cz. *svíce*; *mǫ̑č* vs. CS **moktь*, SCr. *mȍć*, Russ. *moč'*, Cz. *moc*; *mẹ́ja* vs. CS **medja*, SCr. *mèđa*, Russ. *mežá*, Cz. *meze*. The *d'* > *j* change is attested in the *Freising Fragments*.

9. The change of the intervocalic ž to *r* (rhotacism) as in *mọ́reš* < **možeši* (2 sg. pres.t.); *kdọr* < **kъtọ-že*, *kar* < **ka-že*, *kjẹr* < **kъde-že*. This change is attested in the *Freising Fragments*. It is also found in the adjoining South Slavic dialects of Kajkavian and Čakavian, and in some lexicalized items in Štokavian and Bulgarian, Čak. Kajk. *bore* < *bože*, *reneš* < *ženeš*; Bulg. *dori* < **do-ži* 'even.'

10. The preservation of the morphological dual in the nominal, pronominal, and verbal inflections, and an expansion of its usage. E.g., *tvoji mlajši sestri* 'your two younger sisters' vs. *tvoje mlajše sestre* (pl.); and *Kaj sta videla?* 'What did you two see?' vs. *Kaj ste videli?* (pl.). The only other Slavic language that has preserved the dual down to the present time is Lusatian.

11. Loss of the vocative case, a feature partially shared with Kajkavian and Central Slovak dialects. The only other Slavic language which lost the vocative case is Russian. In the *Freising Fragments* vocative forms still appear.

12. Loss of simple past tenses, the aorist and imperfect, which were retained in other South Slavic languages. Both are still attested in the *Freising Fragments*, and can be found in some western-most Slovene dialects (e.g., in Rezija). The past tense of today's Slovene is formed with the *-l-* participle of the verb and the present tense paradigm of the auxiliary verb *biti* 'to be.' E.g., *prišel sem*, *prihajal sem*.

13. The future tense in present-day Slovene is formed by the *-l-* participle of a verb in conjunction with the future tense paradigm of the auxiliary verb *biti* 'to be' (*bom* or *bodem*, 1 sg.). E.g., *prišel bom*, *prihajal bom*.

As in most Slavic languages, the present tense forms of a perfective verb in Slovene can also express a future event. E.g., *pridem* 'I shall come.'

14. The preservation of the grammatical form and function of the supine. Grammatically supin specifies purpose; it is used after finite forms of verbs of motion or verbs implying motion, and functions as their

primary complement. E.g., *Mati je šla jagode nabirat* 'Mother went to pick strawberries,' Russ. *Mat' pošla sobirat' zemljaniku.* The only other Slavic language which has preserved the supine is Lower Lusatian. About the retainment of this category in Kajkavian dialect, see later.

15. The retention of the verbal infinitive and the preservation of its syntactic use. The infinitive was lost in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and partially in Serbocroatian; Slovene, on the other hand, preserved its form and function in the sentence. E.g., in a number of old infinitive constructions, *Dolžan sem vam povedati* 'I have to tell you'; *Nehaj se jokati* 'stop crying'; *Kaj nam je napraviti?* 'What are we to do?' *Otrokom je molčati* 'children must keep silent.'

16. The preservation of numerous old Slavic lexical peculiarities, e.g., *dẹ̑ti dẹ̑m* 'say,' *rotíti rotím* 'entreat,' *kojíti kojím* 'nurse,' *ráčiti rȃčim* 'be willing,' *uljnják* 'beehouse'; a number of words with primary Slavic semantic meanings preserved, e.g., *gróza* 'horror' (Russ. *grozá* 'storm'), *živə̀t* 'body' (Russ. *živót* 'stomach'), *nedẹ̑lja* 'Sunday' (Russ. *nedélja* 'week'), *žáliti koga* 'offend somebody' (SCr. *žȁliti* 'mourn for'), *lẹ̑to* 'year' (SCr. *lèto* 'summer'); a number of original Slovene formations, e.g., *dežẹ̑la* 'land,' *stárši* 'parents,' *nocọ̑j* 'tonight'; and numerous loans from Germanic and Romance languages entirely adapted to Slavic patterns e.g., *bọ̑gati* 'obey,' *mȃlha* 'beggar's bag,' *nágelj* 'carnation,' *peljáti* 'lead, carry,' *rožmarȋn* 'rosemary,' *hláče* 'trousers.'

SLOVENE AND MODERN RUSSIAN In relation to modern Russian, contemporary Slovene can be defined as follows:

Prosodically, on the level of the literary language, Russian and Slovene differ in the use of supersegmental features. Whereas the variety of standard Slovene which is based on the central dialects preserved polytony with phonemically utilized tone and quantity (i.e., long vowels can be rising or falling), the Russian accent is expiratory. However, the dialects of Slovene in which tone and quantity have been lost, use expiratory stress as well, like Russian.

As in Russian, the contemporary Slovene accent is mobile; e.g., nom. sg. *róka*, gen. sg. *rokẹ̑*, dat. sg. *róki*, acc. sg. *rokọ̑* vs. Russ. *ruká*, *rukí*, *ruké*, *rúku*; nom. sg. masc. adj. *mlȃd*, fem. sg. *mláda*, neut sg. *mladọ̑* vs. Russ. *mlad*, *mladá*, *mládo*.

In some categories of words and grammatical forms the mobile accent of Slovene and Russian agrees, e.g., Sle. inf. *nosíti*, 2 pl. pres. t. *nǫ̂site* and 2 pl. imper. *nosîte* vs. Russ. *nosìt'*, *nòsite* and *nosìte*. In several other categories of words the accent in Slovene differs from Russian. As in Serbocroatian, but differently than in Russian, final stress is often retracted in Slovene, e.g., *glȃva*, *nȃrod*, *sǫ̂sed* vs. Russ. *golovà*, *naròd*, *sosèd*. In another category of Slovene words the accent is shifted to the final syllable, e.g., *okǫ̂*, *zlatǫ̂*, *srcę̂*, adj. sg. neut. *mladǫ̂*, acc. sg. *glavǫ*, nom. sg. *golǫ̂b* vs. Russ. *òko*, *zòloto*, *sèrce*, *mòlodo*, *gòlovu*, *gòlub'* (see Figure 7).

Phonemically, the Slovene vowel system consists of seven long vowels (*i*, *ę*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *ǫ*, *u*) which are always stressed, and six short vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, ə) which may be stressed or unstressed, whereas Russian has five vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*) in stressed, three vowels (*i*, *a*, *u*) in unstressed after hard consonants, and two vowels (*i*, *u*) in unstressed syllables after soft consonants. Russian *e* and *o* have two corresponding counterparts each in Slovene: *ę* and *e*, and *ǫ* and *o*. Unlike Russian, the consonantal system of Slovene does not possess a series of palatalized consonants. In both languages the voiced-voiceless distinction of obstruents is neutralized in word-final position and everywhere before voiced-voiceless consonants.

In spoken Slovene, in particular in the speech influenced by the so-called "modern vowel reduction" tendencies (see Chapter Three), short stressed and unstressed vowels tend to be shortened and reduced. Such a vowel-reduction propensity resembles the vowel reduction system of modern Russian. On the other hand, the vowel reduction as such, shared (although on a different level) by Russian and Slovene and promoted by the same phonological principle of the culminative prominence of accented syllable which dominates both languages, apparently differs markedly in the limitations imposed by their own phonological structures.[5]

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[5] Both Slovene and Russian are languages with culminative prominence exhibited only in one position in every word. They differ by the fact that in the correlation of accent the culminative function in Slovene is performed by the *quantity* (long vs. short syllables) where every short syllable may be unstressed or stressed), but in Russian by the *expiratory increase in force* (stressed vs. unstressed syllables). Hence the difference in implementation of reduction (in Russian a vowel is reductable if

Orthographically, at the basis of both standard languages writing lies the morphophonemic principle, that is, the rule that writing tends to maintain the visual form of a morpheme in spite of the changes it undergoes in pronunciation. E.g., Sle. masc. sg. *golob/golộp/*, gen. sg. *goloba, golobček/golộpček/* vs. Russ. *golub'/gólup,/, golubja, golubčik/ galúpčik/*.

Morphologically, the relation of Slovene and Russian can best be stated in terms of agreements and differences of grammatical categories and forms between the two languages. While both agree in basic morphological structure (number, gender, case categories in nouns, gradation, definite vs. indefinite in adjectives, person, tense, mood, voice, and aspect in verbal forms), substantial differences exist in other categories and forms.

For example, Slovene possesses a grammatical dual in addition to singular and plural, with specific forms for the nominative-accusative and dative-instrumental cases in nouns, and 1st, 2nd-3rd persons in verbal forms. Thus, *mojima učiteljema* 'to my two teachers' vs. Russ. *moim dvum učiteljam*; *kaj sta prinesla brat in sestra?* 'what did your brother and sister bring?' vs. Russ.: *čto brat i sestra prinesli?*

The category of animated vs. inanimated, that is the identity vs. non-identity of the accusative form of a noun or pronoun with their genitive form, in Russian governs all masculine forms in singular and all gender forms in plural, e.g., *vižu učitelja* and *vižu ženu* 'I see a teacher' and 'I see a woman' (sg.), and *vižu učitelej/vižu žën* (pl.). In Slovene it is limited only to singular nouns of masculine gender, *vidim učitelja, vidim ženo*; however, *vidim učitelje* and *vidim žene* (acc.pl.).

The case system of Russian and Slovene is very similar. While both languages lost the vocative case form, the predicative instrumental, frequent in Russian (e.g., *on byl učitelem* 'he was a teacher') is not used in Slovene (*bil je učitelj*). In addition, the use of the instrumental

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not stressed, in Slovene if not long) and, by implication, the discrepancy between the corresponding positions of maximal and minimal vowel differentiation in both languages. Cf. Rigler 1964, 36-45; Ivić 1969, 59-69.

case in Slovene, like the locative case, is obligatorily with the preposition (e.g., *z bratom* 'with brother,' *s sestro* 'with sister').

An additional striking difference between both languages is that Slovene possesses the rich system of pronominal enclitics (e.g., *me, mi, te, ti, ga, mu, je, jo, ji*, used when not stressed in sentence), which has no counterpart in Russian. E.g., Sle. *vidim ga* 'I see him,' Russ. *ja ego vižu*; Sle. *videl sem ga in dal sem mu jo (knjigo)* 'I saw him and I gave it (the book) to him,' Russ. *ja ego videl i dal ee emu*.

The verbal system of Slovene and Russian is based on the grammatical category of aspect which underlies a similar pattern of three tenses (the present, past, and future tense) in both languages. The relation between aspect and tense in Slovene, however, differs somewhat from Russian. An independent use of the present tense of a perfective verb in Slovene is quite frequent (although not entirely automatically) to express a posterior action. A much more usual, and more frequently used pattern for this purpose, however, is a compound future tense formation for both the perfective and the imperfective verbs (e.g., *prišel bom, prihajal bom*).

There are a number of differences in the formal pattern of the verb system in both languages. The present tense desinence for the 1st sg. in Slovene is *-m* (e.g., *nosim*), *-u* in Russian (*nošu*), and the 1st pl. in Slovene is *-mo* (e.g., *nosimo*), *-m* in Russian (*nosim*). The Slovene past tense is a compound formation which consists of the *-l-* participle of a verb and the present tense paradigm of the auxiliary *biti* 'to be' (e.g., *prišel sem, prihajal sem*); Russian does not use an auxiliary (*ja prišël, ja prixodil*). In addition, Slovene possesses the supine, a grammatical form specifying purpose after verbs of motion. While both languages share a free use of the infinitive form in their syntactic patterns, Slovene differs from Russian in that it has two infinitive formations: a longer one with *-ti* ∿ *-či* (e.g., *kosîti, spâti*), and a short infinitive with *-t* ∿ *-č* (*kosȉt, spȁt*, prosodically opposed to their supine forms: *kosȋt, spȃt*), with a usage limited to conversational style. In the system of participles and gerunds two differences between Slovene and Russian stand out. There is no present passive participle in Slovene, and the past gerund form exists only with a very few perfective verbs of contemporary language (e.g., *skrivši*).

SLOVENE AND STANDARD SERBO-CROATIAN In relation to modern Serbo-Croatian, its closest relative in the South Slavic language family, contemporary Slovene can be characterized as follows:

Prosodically, both languages utilize tone and quantity. The tone in Slovene, however, is subordinated to quantity (only long vowels may have rising or falling pitch), while it is relatively free in standard Serbo-Croatian; it may occur in long and short syllables, but not word-finally. Hence, Serbo-Croatian has four accents: long falling (e.g., *mȇso* vs. Sle. *mesǫ̑*), long rising (e.g., *rúka* vs. Sle. *róka*), short falling (e.g., *brȁt*, *krȁva* vs. Sle. *brat/bràt/*, *kráva*), and short rising (e.g., *vòda* vs. Sle. *vóda*). In addition, length in Serbo-Croatian can occur on any syllable except the pretonic, while in Slovene it appears only under accent. E.g., *gospòdār*, *gospòdārskī* vs. Sle. *gospodár*, *gospodárski*.

Both languages know the retraction of the Common Slavic accent for one syllable toward the beginning of the word. While in Slovene this retraction is not absolutely consistent (e.g., *gláva*, *národ*; however, no retraction from the non-final or long syllables, e.g., *liváda*, *lisíca*, *želȋm*, and to a /ə/ only facultatively, e.g., *mə̀gla* and *məglà*, *tə̀mən* and *təmə̀n*), it is so in Serbo-Croatian (e.g., *lȉvada*, *lȉsica*, *žȅlim*, *mȁgla*, *tȁman*). On the other hand, Serbocroatian did not undergo the progressive shift of accent of the type *okǫ̑*, *zlatǫ̑*, *golǫ̑b*, nom. pl. *golǫ̑bi*, for which one finds standard Serbo-Croatian *ȍko*, *zlȁto*, *gȍlūb*, *gȍlubovi*.

Phonemically: As opposed to the seven long and six short vowels of Slovene, Serbo-Croatian has a five vowel system (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*) and a syllabic /r̥/, each of which possesses all six of the prosodic and qualitative oppositions (e.g., ȓ̥, ŕ̥, ȑ̥, r̥̀, r̥̄, r̥). Unlike Slovene, Serbo-Croatian has no closed /ẹ/ nor closed /ọ/ nor schwa /ə/, and no reduction of vowels.

Like Slovene, Serbo-Croatian does not possess a series of palatalized consonants. It does, however, have a series of palatal consonants /*ć*, *ʒ́*, *l'*, *n'*, *j*/, of which *ć* and *ʒ́* derive from Common Slavic **t'* and **d'*, thus making its consonantal system distinct from all other Slavic languages. Unlike Slovene, Serbo-Croatian in general retains the voiced-voiceless distinction of obstruents in word-final position.

Orthographically, Serbo-Croatian spelling differs from Slovene and Russian. Except for a few qualified exceptions, its orthography is based on phonemic principle. E.g., Scr. *golub*, *goluba*, *golupčić*; nom.sg.masc. *glas*, gen.sg. *glasa*, nom.sg.fem. *glazba* vs. Sle. *glas*, *glasu*, *glasba* */glȃzba/*. In Serbo-Croatian spelling the Latin digraphs *lj* and *nj* denote the palatal */l'/* and */n'/*, which in Slovene notation represent palatals only optionally (e.g., Slovene *lj/l ∿ l'/*, *nj/n ∿ n'/*).

Morphologically, Slovene and Serbo-Croatian seem to differ less in the inventory of shared grammatical categories than in the number of non-shared inflectional forms. As it has been already shown, Serbo-Croatian possesses no grammatical dual, and unlike Slovene and Russian, it shares a vocative case pattern with other Slavic languages. In addition, it preserves some formal vestiges of the indefinite adjectival declension which have been lost in Slovene. On the other hand, the formal case oppositions in Serbo-Croatian are weaker than in Slovene and Russian; e.g., the consistent structural syncretisms (the dative, locative, and instrumental plural forms in *-ima* and *-ama*; the genitive plural form in *-ā*) of Serbo-Croatian is unknown to Slovene.

One important difference between the verbal systems of both languages concerns the relation between aspect and tense. The present of perfective verbs normally in Serbo-Croatian does not have a future meaning, as in Russian and, with some restrictions, in Slovene. A number of other salient differences concern tenses. Sharing with Slovene the pattern of a compound past (e.g., *čuo sam*), Serbo-Croatian preserved both simple past tenses, the aorist (e.g., *čuh*) and the imperfect (e.g., *čujah*). The total number of temporal categories in Serbo-Croatian is seven (the present, imperfect, aorist, the compound past or perfect, pluperfect, future, future-perfect), as opposed to three in Slovene and Russian. The Serbo-Croatian future tense is a compound formation but differs from the Slovene future in that it combines the infinitive of a conjugated verb with an enclitical form of the present tense of the verb *hteti* 'want,' e.g., *ću* (1 sg.), *ja ću pítati* or *pítat ću* 'I will ask.'

The Serbo-Croatian verbal system differs from Slovene also in that it does not possess the supine, that it lost the present and the past active participles, and that its infinitive form, although still part of its paradigm, tends to be used much less than in Slovene; as in Bulgarian and Macedonian it is often substituted by a *da + present tense* phrase, e.g., Sle. *ne morem gledati* 'I cannot see,' SCr. *ne mogu da gledam* and *ne mogu gledati*.

EASTERN ALPINE SLAVIC AND WEST SLAVIC DIALECTS The assumption of the possibility of an early migrational-territorial contact between the earliest Slavic tribes in the Eastern Alpine valleys and the tribal ancestors of today's Czechs and Slovaks rests on the existence of a small number of isolated isoglosses inside the Slovene speech territory, whose radiation center lies supposedly somewhere in the North Slavic area. These isoglosses are linguistically characterized by (a) the preservation of the clusters *tl*, *dl* in some northern Slovene dialects; (b) the use of the prefix *vi-* < **vy-* rather than **jьz-* 'out' in a number of lexemes, typical of the northern and western Slovene as well as the northwestern Čakavian dialects; and (c) the desinence **-ǫ* rather than **ojǫ* in the instr. sg. of the old *-ā* stems, also shared with the Kajkavian and northwest Čakavian dialects. E.g.:

(a) *krîdwo* 'wing,' *jédwa* 'fir-tree' in the Zilja dialect; *modliti* 'pray' in the eastern Carinthia and NW Styria dialects; Sle. *krîlo*, *jẹ́la*, *molíti*; Cz. *křídlo*, *modliti se*, *jedle*. Note that the historical records of Slovene place names in the Eastern Alps have preserved *dl* cluster, e.g., *Dudleipa* (840), *Zedelsach* (< **sedlьčaxъ* loc. pl. of *sedlьčane*) (898), *Edlach* (< **jedlaxъ* loc. pl.).

(b) *vìgrat* 'spring' in Podjuna, *vípustit* 'release' in the Ter dialect; Sle. *izpustiti*; Čak. *vikopat* 'dig out,' *vinut* 'get out' vs. Scr. *izkopati*, *izneti*; Cz. *východ* 'exit,' *vypustiti*, *vykopati*.

(c) Sle. *z rîbo* 'with a fish,' *z ženó* 'with a woman'; Kajk. *ribo* and *ribu*, *ženo* and *ženu*; Čak. *ribu* and *ribun*, *ženu* and *ženun*; Pol. *rybą*, *żeną*; Cz. *ribou*, *ženou*; Western and Eastern Slk. dialects *rybú*, *ženú* < **-ǫ*; vs. Slk. *ženou*, *rybou*; Old Serbian *ženovъ* < **-ou* < **-oǫ*; OCS *ženojǫ*; Russ. *ženój(u)*.

Two of the just mentioned features, *vi-*, *dl* and *tl*, dialect-peripheral and isolated as they are in Slovene, are structurally rather insignificant; they are usually associated with archaisms in Slovene dialects. The third one, the instr. sg. fem. desinence *-o*, is consistently present in most Slovene dialects and historical texts (including the _Freising Fragments_), and is part of a Common Slavic morphological innovation of an early contraction which took place before the denasalization of nasal vowels, but territorially remained limited to Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Slovak (except for its Central dialects), Slovene, Kajkavian, and the Northwestern Čakavian dialects.

The position and direction of these three isoglosses in a broader Eastern Alpine Slavic area, disconnected and isolated for centuries from West Slavic, all concave, curving in within a NNE-SSW, and for _tl_, _dl_ an ENE-WSW general direction, makes them essentially peripheral in the South Slavic speech continuum today. In the absence of any significant concentration of isoglosses in bundles, these three may reflect an ideal prehistoric "wave theory landscape," representing a net of transitional dialects with features whose incipient evolution must be sought most likely at the time of the movement of Slavic tribes along the Western Carpathians. It is obvious that these isoglosses could not be older than the 7th or 8th centuries A.D. This is why all other parallel features in Slovene, Czech and Slovak dialects of later evolution, which form separate, but not disconnected isoglosses (e.g., ъ and ь > _ə_, _g_ > ɣ, _-m_ in the 1st sg., and _-mo_ in the 1st pl. pres. t. verbal forms, the latter two including Slovene into a broader context of the South Slavic West) are not to be dealt with here.

The assumed migrational-territorial contact between the earliest Slavic tribes in the Eastern Alps and the Western Slavs, was, of course, followed by a historically attested Avaro-Slavic migration, which progressed in an E-W and SE-NW direction into the Alpine regions. It is this migrational wave which carried with it the typically South Slavic evolutional tendencies such as _tl_, _dl_ > _l_, _iz-_ < _*jьz-_ instead of _vi-_ < _*vy-_, which influenced the later evolution of these features in Slovene. The subsequent break of territorial contact with the West Slavs further insured the South Slavic direction of the ultimate evolution of the transitional dialects.

SLOVENE AND KAJKAVIAN Although contemporary standard Slovene and standard Serbo-Croatian represent two distinct speech areas, divided by two separate and discrete sociolinguistic realities, the linguistic boundary separating them is not of a radical type. Inasmuch as no solid impenetrable political frontier ever cut through their contiguous speech areas, it is understandable why perhaps more than anywhere else in the South Slavic linguistic chain, the natural dialects here shade gradually and pass almost imperceptibly from one to another. Thus the dialects along both sides of the Slovene-Croatian national frontier continue the classical Slavic linguistic continuum in which the shades and nuances of speech intensify into differences, as everywhere in graded areas, only with geographic distance.

The northern sector of the administrative border between Slovenia and Croatia represents such a graded dialectal boundary today, separating Slovene from the Kajkavian dialect. Starting from the point where the Murica River empties into the Mura, this boundary stretches in a NNW-SSE direction to the Drava River, turns west along the Drava, crosses the southeastern slopes of the Haloze foothills and the Macelj highlands, continues along the Sotla to the Sava River, runs along the Gorjanci ridge, turns south and west along the Kolpa River, and ends further west at the summit of Snežnik (1796 m.).

Some of the most important common features linking Croatian Kajkavian with Slovene today across this boundary, are as follows:

In *prosody*: 1. An accent change known as the metatonic neocircumflex, which governs a number of morphological categories. E.g., of the type *vȋdim*, *gȋnem* (1 sg. pres. t.), *vȋden* (past pass. part.), Kajk. *vȋdim*, *gȋnem*, *vȋdjen* vs. SCr. *vȉdim*, *gȉnem*, *vȉđen*; in instr. sg. fem. substantives of the type *krȃvo*, Kajk. *krȃvo* and *krȃvom* vs. SCr. *krȁvom*; in nom. and instr. pl. neut. subst. of the type *mẹ̑sta*, *mẹ̑sti*, Kajk. *mȇsta*, *mȇsti* vs. SCr. *mjȅsta*, *mjȅstima*; or in def. adj. masc. sg. forms of the type *sȋti*, *bogâti*, Kajk. *sȋti*, *bogâti* vs. SCr. *sȉti*, *bògatī*.

2. Several categories of the neoacute (analogical) retraction on short vowels, e.g., in def. adj. masc. sg. forms of the type **kõnьskъjь* (vs. **kȍnьskъ*), Sle. *kọ́njski*, *kọ́zji*, *ọ́včji*, Kajk. *kõnjski*, *kõzji*, *õvčji*, Štok. *kȍnjskī*, *kȍzjī*, *ȍvčjī*; or in the nom. pl. neut. substantives of the type *õkna* (vs. *oknȍ*), Sle. *ọ́kna*, *sẹ́la*, *rẹ́bra*, Kajk. *õkna*, *sẽla*, *rẽbra*, Štok. *ȍkna*, *sȅla*, *rȅbra*.[6]

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[6] Ramovš 1921, 232-234; Ivšić 1936, 70-72.

> Note, however, that two general, typically Slovene prosodic features, are not shared with Kajkavian; viz.: the progressive shift of the old falling accents (see above), e.g., Kajk. *bȏga* (gen. sg.) vs. Sle. *bogâ*, *zlâto* vs. *zlatǫ̂*; and the lengthening of the non-final short acute accent (/ˋ/ > /ˊ/) and its merger with the neoacute /˜/, e.g., Sle. *kráva*, *súša* vs. Kajk. *krȁva* but *sũša*, and Sle. *nǫ́sim* (1 sg. pres. t.) vs. Kajk. *nȍsim*, SCr. *kȓava*, *sȗša*, *nȍsīm*.

In *phonology*, in a narrower meaning of this term: 1. A basically identical structure of the vowel system and the same evolutionary tendency in both. Thus, Kajkavian and Slovene have a four-degree vowel system (vs. a three-degree system in Serbocroatian) in which vowel quality depends on vowel quantity. Long vowels here tend to be closed and diphthongized, short ones open and exposed to assimilation or even reduction, whereas no such tendencies exist in Serbocroatian.

2. A basic identity of the *o* reflex with the CS back nasal **ǫ*; e.g., Sle. and Kajk. *goska* < **gǫsьka*, vs. SCr. *guska*; *toča* < **tǫča* vs. Scr. *tuča*.

3. The change of CS **r'* > /*rj*/ in intervocalic position; e.g., Sle. and Kajk. *morje* vs. SCr. *more*, 1 sg. pres. t. *orjem* vs. SCr. *orem*. (See above.)

4. The change of the intervocalic CS **ž* > /*r*/, as in the present tense of the verb *more* (Sle. and Kajk.) vs. SCr. 2 sg. pres. t. *može* (see above).

In *morphology*: 1. A basic identity of the instrumental singular desinence of the substantives of the old *-ā stems*, derived from the CS **-ǫ*; e.g., Sle. *rȋbo*, *žęnǫ́*; Kajk. *ribo*, *ženo*; *ribǫ*, *ženǫ*; *ribu*, *ženu*, and *ribum*, *žeňum* (*u* + *m* of the instr. sg. masc. pattern) vs. SCr. *ribom* < *ribovь* < CS **ryboję*.

2. An absence of the special vocative form and its substitution by the nominative case.

3. Common use of the *-ov* desinence in the genitive pl. substantives of the old *-o stems*, e.g., Kajk. *orȇhof*, Sle. *orẹ̑hov* vs. Scr. *ȍrāhā*.

4. Frequent use of the comparative suffixes *-e(j)š-* and *-š-* in adjectives; e.g., Kajk. and Sle. *bistrẹ̑jši* vs. SCr. *bȉstrijī*; Kajk. *stárši*, Sle. *starẹ̑jši* vs. SCr. *stàrījī*; Kajk. *krájši* and *krâtkiji* (Sle. *krâjši*) vs. SCr. *krȁćī*.

5. The use of an expanded pattern of the 3rd pl. present tense desinence of verbs of the type *prosijo* ∿ *prosiju* (inf. *prositi*), *tresejo* ∿ *treseju* (inf. *tresti*), *govorijo* ∿ *govoriju* (inf. *govoriti*) vs. SCr. *prose, tresu, govore*.

6. An identity of the future tense model: for perfective verbs the use of the present tense forms, e.g., Kajk. *dojdem* (inf. *dojti*), Sle. *pridem* (inf. *priti*) vs. SCr. *doći ću*; for imperfect verbs the use of a compound future consisting of the present tense paradigm of the auxiliary **bǫdǫ* and the *-l-* participle, e.g., Kajk. *pisal bum (bom)*, Sle. *pisal bom* vs. SCr. *pisati ću* and *pisat ću*.

7. Common use of the supine, formally sustained with the opposition *-t* and *-č* vs. infinitive *-ti* and *-či*,- e.g., Kajk. *pȅč* vs. *pȇči*, *glȇt* vs. *glȇdati*, Sle. *pę̑č* vs. *péči*, *glẹ́dat* vs. *glẹ́dati*.

A few phonological correspondences uniting only partially Kajkavian (in particular the dialects of Zagorje and Medjimurje) with the adjoining Slovene speech area, may reflect common innovations with a radiation center in the Slovene territories. Such old common innovations in the consonantal system include:

1. The same reflexes for palatal plosives *t′ d′* > *č j* (from CS **tj *dj*) in Slovene and in the western Kajkavian territory; e.g., *sveča*, *meja*. An earlier stage of this evolution, resulting in *ć j* and preserved in the peripheral Slovene dialects on the west still today, was historically shared by most Kajkavian dialects. A still earlier stage, *t′*, *j*, was presumably common to the Čakavian dialects as well.

2. Similar reflexes of CS **stį *skį*, **zdį *zgį* as *šč/šć*, *ždž,žǯ*. The CSS has for these Common Slavic clusters *šč* and *š*, however, *žj* and *ž*; Eastern Slovene dialects have *šč* and *ždž*; the Kajkavian dialects *šč* and *šć*, *ždž* and *žǯ*; the Štokavian SCr. *št*, *žd*. E.g., Slovene *kléšče* vs.

Kajk. *klȇšča*; Sle. *prȋšč* and Kajk. *prȋšč* and *prȋšć* vs. Štok. *prȋšt*; Prekmurje dialect *tèšče* and Kajk. *tȅšč* and *tȅšć* vs. Štok. *tȁšt*; Sle. *rǫ̑žje* vs. Prekmurje *rȏždžje* vs. Kajk. *rȏžʒ́e*; Sle. *možgȃni* vs. Prekmurje *moždžȃni*, Rezija *možd'ane* vs. Zagorje-Medjimurje *moždžȃni* vs. Štok. Scr. dialectal *moždani*. An earlier stage of these reflexes (*šć*, *žʒ́*) must have once been common to broader Slovene-Kajkavian speech areas.

Two other phonological features shared within larger or smaller territories both sides of the Kajkavian-Slovene dialectal boundary contrast the evolution of Štokavian and Čakavian. One concerns the reflex of the long ə̄ (< CS *ь *ъ) in Kajkavian in which we find /*ẹ̄*/ as in most northeastern Slovene dialects, including Styria and Carinthia (the adjoining Štokavian and Čakavian and most southwestern Slovene dialects have ə̄ > *a* change); the other relates to the reflex of the CS long **ě* which in Kajkavian did not follow the known pattern of evolution of *ě* in most Štokavian and Čakavian dialects (*ě* > /*i*/, /*e*/, /*je*/) and gave here also an /*ẹ̄*/. This Kajkavian /*ẹ̄*/ for long *ě* is peripherally found in the Slovene dialects of Pannonia where the regular reflex for long *ě* is a diphthongal /*ei̯*/, however. Thus structurally these two Kajkavian evolutions, divergent as they may be with Čakavian and Štokavian, are contrasting as well with the evolution of Slovene.[7]

A number of common isoglosses still further link the Slovene and Kajkavian dialects along their boundaries in a series of more narrow local correspondences. Some of these features are not old; they reveal, however, the same tendencies. For example:

1. Most of the Slovene speech area contiguous with the Kajkavian dialects shares with Kajkavian the same evolution of prosodic features: e.g., Styrian and Kajkavian *kȏža* vs. Sle. *kǫ́ža*, *vȏlja* vs. *vǫ́lja*.

2. The Slovene dialects of Prekmurje and Prlekija with Slovenske gorice (Eastern Styria dialectal base) share with the adjoining Kajkavian

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[7] For a discussion of phonological equations ə̄ > ẹ̄ = ẹ̄ < ě̄ (Kajk.) vs. ə̄ > *a* ≠ *i*/*e*/*je* < ě̄ (Štok. and Čak.), and ə̄ > ẹ̄ ≠ *ei̯* < ě̄ (Sle. northeastern dialects) see Rigler 1963, 41-42; Ivić 1966, 383; Junković 1972, 207-210; Rigler 1976, 444-445.

dialects the change of syllabic *l̥* > *u* and syllable-final *-l* > *-o*; e.g., *ȕna*, *pȕš*, *vȉdo* (Prlekija *vȉda*) vs. Sle. *vôlna/vôwna/*, *sôlza/sôwza/*, *polž/powž/*, *vîdel/vîdəw/*.

3. The Slovene dialects of Središče and Prekmurje share with the Kajkavian dialects the *-oga*, *-omu*, *-oj* endings of the adjectival-pronominal declension in genitive, dative-locative singular masculine and dative-locative feminine case, e.g., *dobroga*, *dobromu*, *dobroj* vs. Sle. *dobrega*, *dobremu*, *dobrem* (loc. sg.), *dobri*.

4. All the Slovene dialects adjoining Kajkavian (including Bela Krajina) use the adverbs in *-ečke*, *-ečki*, a feature unknown to CSS, e.g., *ležečki*, *stoječke*.

SLOVENE AND ČAKAVIAN   South and West of the summit of Snežnik the Slovene speech area contacts that part of the Croatian territory which, some centuries ago, might have been the transitional area of a Slovene-Čakavian continuum. There is, however, no immediate contact between Slovene and the primary Čakavian dialects along this sector of the linguistic boundary with Serbocroatian today.

From Snežnik on, the linguistic boundary with the Croatian dialects follows the Slovene-Croatian state frontier. It turns first southward, west of the mountain peaks of Zatrep (1458 m.) and Grmada (931 m.), and extends up to the line connecting the villages of Jelšane, Veliko Brdo, Podgrad, Poljane, all north of the range of mountain peaks Trstenik (838 m.), Žabnik (1024 m.), Rasušica (1084 m.), Slavnik (1028 m.); from Slavnik the boundary turns again south and westward. Following the northern slopes of the Velika Plešivica (908 m.), Žbevnica (1014 m.), and Ravnca (478 m.) it links the Slovene villages of Podgorje, Zazid, Sočerga, and Trebeše and then passes to the Lower Dragonja River (Rokava) and follows it to the Adriatic.[8]

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[8] The Slovene-Croatian political viz. ethnic frontier does not coincide with the dialectal boundary along this line, however. There are Slovene villages on the Croatian side (Lisec, Brdce) and Buzet itself and its environs are in some measure Slovene. From the isoglosses running not far from Slum, already in Croatia, the old boundary between the dialects of Inner Carniola and Istria can still be established. Cf. Rigler 1963, 9-16; also Ivić 1961, 191-211.

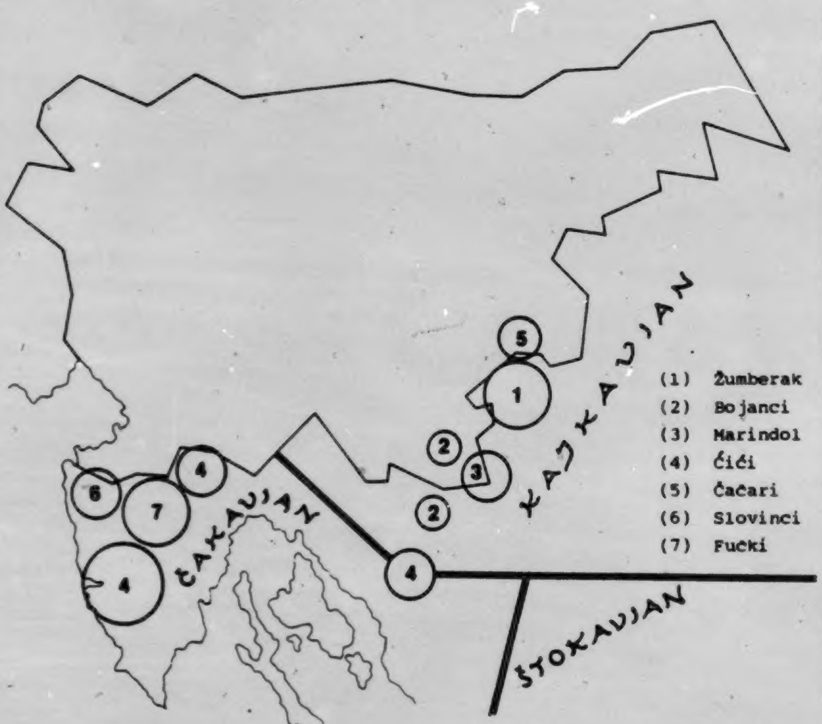

Figure 4. DIALECTAL ENCLAVES ALONG THE KAJKAVIAN-ČAKAVIAN BOUNDARY

The Slavic dialects in immediate contact with Slovene are Kajkavian on the east and south and Čakavian on the south-west. A number of small dialectal enclaves of various historical-linguistic and socio-ethnic groupings make this boundary, however, still more complex. The most significant such dialectal enclaves are:

ŽUMBERAK, on the southern slopes of the Gorjanci range. Originally a contingent of refugees from Bosnia, the group was joined by military colonists (Uskoki) from Senj in Dalmatia after 1530. They are Catholics by religion. Their dialect is East Hercegovian Štokavian.

BOJANCI, in Bela Krajina. By origin from an area between the Neretva and Cetina Rivers, by religion Orthodox, they speak an East Hercegovian dialect of Štokavian.

MARINDOL, along the Kolpa River. By origin Serbian Uskoki, by religion Orthodox; they speak an East Hercegovian Štokavian dialect.

ČIČARIJA, in northeastern Istria, an area characterized by a mixed Štokavian-Čakavian dialect. Historically, we have here an Ikavian Čakavian dialectal stratum of speakers who originally moved from Bosnia to Carniola first (1500) and in Čičarija after 1532; and a population of Štokavian Uskoki from Dalmatia who settled in the area ab. 1525. For centuries they both lived together and mixed with the Romanian Ćiribirci, known as Čići, who remained their neighbors in the region.

ČAČARI, originally Čakavian Uskoki, occupying some twenty villages north of Žumberak up to Kostanjeviva on the Krka River. Their dialect is Ikavian Čakavian.

SLOVINCI of Buje, between the Dragonja and the Mirna Rivers. Originally part of a Štokavian Uskoki group from Dalmatia, they settled the entire west side of the Istrian peninsula in 1525. Their dialect is a mixture of Štokavian with North Čakavian and Slovene-Kajkavian dialects.

FUČKI or BEZJAKI, south-west of Čičarija, between the Upper Dragonja and Upper Mirna Rivers. Fučki presumably represent the remnants of speakers of the old North Čakavian dialects. Today they speak a mixed Čakavian-Slovene Kajkavian dialect.

The dialects in contact with the Slovene speech territory along this boundary today are secondary and mixed Čakavian dialects (see Figure 4). The inhabitants of Čičarija, an area south of the dialect of Notranjsko, for example, were originally refugees from Bosnia who settled the area about 1500 A.D.; today they speak Čakavian. Their neighbors on the southwest, the Čiči, are Štokavian speakers who came to the region from Dalmatia some decades later.[9] Further west, south of the Slovene dialects of Istria, extend two other mixed Croatian dialects. Their speakers are known as Fučki and Slovinci. While the speech of the Fučki is an extension of a primary Čakavian dialect of Liburnia and Central Istria, it has been strongly mixed and diluted with Slovene Kajkavian for centuries. The Slovinci along the Dragonja River, on the other hand, speak a dialect mixture of Štokavian, Čakavian and Slovene Kajkavian.

There are basically two linguistic features which link Čakavian with Slovene from the time of their earliest relations:

1. The common evolution of the CS **d'* > *j*, as in *mẽja*, *sǒjen*, shared today also with the western and northwestern Kajkavian dialects.

> As already noted, the Čakavian reflex for CS **t'* preserved a stage which, in other West South Slavic dialects, followed the evolution **tj* > *t'* in Čakavian and some westernmost Slovene dialects; > *ć* in the western Slovene, Kajkavian and Štokavian dialects; and > *č* in Slovene and northwestern Kajkavian.

2. The identity of the instrumental singular desinence of the substantives of old *-ā stems* from CS **-ǫ* rather than **-oi̯ǫ*: Sle. *-o*, e.g., *rȋbo*, *žeňǫ*; NW Čakavian *-u*, *-un*, e.g., *ribu*, *ženu* (and *ribun*, *ženun*), shared also with Kajkavian but opposed to the SE Čakavian and Štokavian evolution, e.g., **ryb-oi̯ǫ* > *-oǫ* > *-ou* > *-ov* > *rib-om*.[10]

All other Slovene-Čakavian communalities are either archaisms, typical for the entire northwestern zone of the South Slavic dialects, or parallel and independent innovations radiating to Čakavian from the Slovene speech area.

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[9] Cf. Rešetar 1891, 173.

[10] This type of instr. sg. desinence has been attested in old Čakavian texts also from broader Čakavian dialectal territory. Cf. Popović 1960, 318-319, 353.

Two of the most conspicuous archaisms in this complex have already been mentioned several times so far:

(1) The use of the prefix *vi-* < **vy-* rather than the *iz-* < **jьz-* attested in peripheral Čakavian and Slovene dialects, e.g., Čak. *vȋkopat*, *vȋnut*, NW Slovene dialects *vípustit*, *vínest* vs. Sle. *izkopâti*, *izpustíti*, SCr. *izkȍpati*, *iznȇti*; and

(2) The traces of an early contraction of the type *ma* < *moja*, *tva* < *tvoja* (fem.), attested in the same group of peripheral Čakavian and Slovene dialects, e.g., Čak. *ma*, *tva*, Zilja dialect *má*, *twá*, Venetian Slovene *ma*, Rezija dialect nom. sg. neut. *mē* for *moje*.

As both these archaisms persist only as relic forms in peripheral Slovene and Čakavian dialects, a number of other features, younger although still characteristic of the earliest common evolution of Slovene and Čakavian, are obviously more relevant. Here belong such phenomena as,

(1) The retention of the neoacute in long syllables in Čakavian, Slovene, and Kajkavian dialects, i.e., Čak. /~/, Kajk. /~/, Sle. /´/, typologically identical with the rising, as opposed to the falling tone in Štokavian; e.g., Čak. *strãža*, *krãļ*, *sũša*; Kajk. *strãža*, *sũša*; Sle. *stráža*, *králj*, *súša*.[11]

(2) The *g* > γ change, attested in the northwestern Čakavian and northwestern and western Slovene dialects and usually related to the corresponding *g* > γ > *h* change in Czech and Slovak. E.g., Čak. γ*arlo*, γ*lava*, S. Notr. γ*ərłu*, γ*ława*, Ter γ*arlo*, Sle. *grlo*, *glava*, SCr. *grlo*, *glava*.

(3) The retention of the cluster *čr-* as opposed to Štok. *cr-*, e.g., Čak. *čr̥n* and *črn*, *črivo*, Sle. *črn*/*čərn*/, *črevo* vs. Štok. *crn*, *crevo* and *crijevo*; and

(4) A tendency toward preservation of formal case distinction in substantives; e.g., forms preserved in dat. pl. class one (Čak. *bratan*, Sle. *bratom*), in gen. pl. class two (Čak. *žȇn*, Sle. *žę̂n* and *ženâ*), and the desinence *-i* in nom. sg. of the type *kri*, class three.[12]

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[11] Ivšić 1936, 70-72.

[12] The reference point of our classification of substantive declension henceforth will be the structure of modern Slovene where we distinguish

More limited is the number of innovations in Čakavian radiating from the Slovene speech territory. At least four such evolutions characterize broad areas of today's northwestern Čakavian:

(1) The metatonic neocircumflex accent changes in at least two morphological categories, viz.: in the present tense of verbs of the type *gȋneš* (1 sg.), and in the masc. sg. definite adjective forms of the type *sȋti*, *bogâti* (see Sle.-Kajk. shared prosodic features, no. 1).

(2) In long and short syllables CS *ъ *ь > *ā* vs. *e*; e.g., Čak. of Krk and Cres islands *dȃn*, *deskȁ* vs. Sle. *dȃn*, *deskà*/*dəskȁ*/ and *dèska* /*də̏ska*/.

(3) A common evolution of the back nasal *ǫ > *o* in NW Čakavian as in Slovene in general.

(4) The diphthongization of long vowels as in Kajkavian, e.g., Čak. *zuôb*, *piȇt*, *žiȇnska*, S.Notr. *zȗǫp*, *pȋẹt*, *žȋęnska*, *wôknu*, *portȗon* vs. Štok. *zȗb*, *pȇt*, *žȅnskā*.

Finally, there are a few Čakavian-Slovene shared innovations which might have developed independently; they reflect parallel evolution and not necessarily influences caused by any territorial contact between Slovene and Čakavian dialects. Here may belong:

(1) The evolution of front nasal *ę to /*e*/ and /*a*/ in NW Čakavian as compared to Slovene Kras and Istria dialects; e.g., Čak. *pet* < **pętь*, *jatra* < **jętro*, *žaja* < **žędja*, *žati* < **žęti* vs. Western Kras dialect *piet*, *jatrə*, *žaja*, *žat*, and *γram*, *γraš* (although here not limited to the position after palatals).

(2) The *-m* > *-n* and the *ļ* > *j* changes in the Čakavian and Western Slovene dialects; e.g., *iman*, *dan* < *imam*, *dam*; *jut*, *jubav*, *poje* < *ljut*, *ljubav*, *polje*; and

(3) reduplication of the prepositions **sъ*, **iz*, **vъz* > *ziz*, *zuz* which is shared with the Western Slovene dialects; e.g., Kras *səz mano*, *səs potjo*.

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three classes: *Class I* containing substantives of masc. and neuter gender with -#, *-o* and *-e* in nom. sg., and *-a* in gen. sg.; *Class II* containing substantives of fem. and masc. gender with nom. sg. in *-a*, and gen. sg. in *-e*; *Class III* containing substantives of fem. gender with nom. sg. in -#, and gen. sg. in *-i*.

STRATIFICATION OF CONTACTS The similarities and differences between Slovene and its geographically closest neighbors, Kajkavian and Čakavian, may be transferred onto the map with a system of isoglosses which gives a sense of the linguistic unity of the original continuum and its subsequent evolution. The individual isoglosses of such a system are to be ranked and separated; the innovations from the archaisms, the ancient innovations from the younger ones along the time axis, and the broader, goegraphically more comprehensive features from the narrower, regional phenomena along the space axis. It is namely the innovations and not the archaisms and the territorially comprehensive, not the regional innovations, which are most important in the documentation of the evolution of related languages.

Thus, the common Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian archaisms — either territorially comprehensive, as the relative preservation of the old prosodic conditions of Slavic, the propensity to keep formal case distinction of inflected words, the preservation of the infinitive form and its function, the use of the supine in Slovene and Kajkavian; or the features, today limited geographically in the westernmost Slovene-Čakavian dialects, such as the *g* > γ change, the use of the prefix *vi-*, the contraction of the *moja* > *ma* type — are much less relevant for the genetic relationship of the three dialectal groups than usually thought. Most of the former (such as prosody, case distinction, supine) do not represent innovations at all. The evolution of some of the latter (such as *dl* > *l*, *g* > γ, *vy-* ∿ *iz-*) could be easily fit into an essentially uniform Common Slavic structure of the sixth-seventh century, which makes the question of their continuation in the North Slavic area rather irrelevant. Taken synchronically, both types of archaisms can be interpreted as pertaining to a classical relic area situation with the subsystem of convex isoglosses bulging out into the extreme west and northwest periphery of the South Slavic speech area caused by the pressure of innovations radiating from the east.

Among the oldest innovations in the West South Slavic continuum, two are most distinctive and territorially comprehensive even today: (1) the *d'* > *j* change, and (2) **-ǫ* rather than **-ojǫ* in the instrumental singular case of class two substantives. Both phenomena unite Slovene with Kajkavian and Čakavian, though **-ǫ* ties it only with the northwest

Čakavian dialects. In the past this isogloss might have been broader in Čakavian, while the *d'* > *j* change, as attested by medieval manuscripts, extended even into a number of west Štokavian dialects of Bosnia. We should note, however, that the **tj* > *č* isogloss, uniting Slovene with northwest Kajkavian, was historically preceded by a (3) *t'* > *t'/ć* evolution, and that the *t'/ć* stage probably united all of West South Slavic.[13]

A slightly younger set of innovations united Slovene and Kajkavian, but separated the Slovene and Kajkavian from the Čakavian and Štokavian dialects. These innovations include phenomena as (4) a less closed quality of the old back nasal vowel as a result of denasalization, yielding *o* and not *u*; (5) *rj* rather than *r* as the reflex of prevocalic **r'*; (6) a greater number of occurrences of the so-called neocircumflex accentuation categories; and (7) a greater number of occurences of the lengthening of the short neoacute categories. While some reflexes in two of these categories may be found in Čakavian dialects today as well, the entire set (4 to 7) is taken as a bundle representing the *first dividing line which split the common linguistic evolution into a Slovene-Kajkavian and a Čakavian-Štokavian group*. Among the innovations shared with Čakavian, to be particularly noted are the Čakavian types of the neocircumflex changes (*gȋneš*, *sȋti* types) which are shared with the NW Čakavian dialect, and the **ǫ* > *o* change which is limited to the speech of the old Čakavian population west of the Raša River in Istria (*goska*, *toča* types).[14] Note that the original **ǫ* > *o* change on the eastern edge of the Kajkavian territory has been later superimposed by the Štokavian **ǫ* > *u*.

We do not know when these oldest innovations took place and whether or not they occurred earlier than the first integrational evolutions of Eastern Alpine Slavic into Slovene. We can assume that one of the two prosodic innovations, the neocircumflex change, must have been preceded by the distinctly Slovene shift of the circumflex to the next syllable of the word (of the type *zlȃto* > *zlatọ̑*, since otherwise *gȋneš* and *sȋto* must have given **ginẹ̑š* and **sitȏ*); but again, we cannot know when all the dialects of the later Slovene speech area really underwent the accent shift *zlȃto* > *zlatọ̑*. The innovations in languages are never instantaneous changes nor do they appear simultaneously over broader linguistic areas.[15]

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[13] Cf. *Freising Fragments choku* = *xoću*, Sle. *hočem*; *Povelja Kulina bana* (1189) *pomokъ*, SCr. *pomoć*; NW Čakavian *kȕt'a*, SCr. *kuća*; NW Sle. dialects *ot'ȁ*, Sle. *oča*, *oče*. Note also that the **-ǫ* in the instrumental singular of Class II substantives is shared as well with a number of West Slavic languages: Polish, Czech, Lusatian, and Slovak.

[14] I wish to thank Pavle Ivić for this specification.

On the other hand, for several centuries longer no clear-cut isoglosses in the vowel system evolution separate Slovene and Kajkavian. As it will be shown later, the earliest innovations which characterized the evolution of Slovene dialects, *ě̄* > */eȁ/* versus */ẹ/*, links the Lower Carniolan, Styrian and Pannonian Slovene dialects with Kajkavian and the broader common West South Slavic evolution. And so does an earlier denasalization of CS nasals **ę* and **ǫ* as well, as opposed to their evolution in the NW Slovene dialects. In addition, the fundamental distinctive characteristics of the vowel system of Slovene — the interdependence of vowel quality on vowel quantity, vowel assimilation and diphthongization propensity — are shared with Kajkavian, and even partially with Čakavian dialects.

Some old phonological changes in the vowel system of Slovene and Kajkavian, on the other hand, show a different dialectal relationship. Thus, the isogloss of the evolution of jers, in particular of the long ə̄ (to a SW Sle. *ā* or a NE Sle. *ē*), which united Kajkavian with the Slovene Styrian and Carinthian dialects, reflects a different distribution: a new South-West vs. North-East configuration. And similarly, the isogloss limiting the lengthening of short non-final vowels in Slovene, common to all Western, Central, and Southern Styrian dialects, united only the peripheral East Styrian with the Kajkavian dialects. It was at that point that the innovations of the Slovene language shared with Kajkavian and Čakavian become restricted and peripheral.

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[15] We do not know as well when the morphological innovations of the Slovene and Kajkavian took their definite form: It is relatively simple with the vocative case form which was still recorded in the *Freising Fragments* but not used in the first Slovene-Kajkavian prints of the 16th century. The generalization of the future tense pattern *bǫdǫ + -l- participle*, however, must have emerged much later out of the competition among several future tense patterns of late CS. The 16th century Slovene texts mirror this competition.

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At this point it would perhaps be well to draw a few generalizations relevant to the evolution of today's linguistic boundary of the Slovene speech area to the East.

1. There are two types of isoglosses which are usually adduced in discussions of historical evolution of the Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian relationship: those which unite the Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian speech territory in relation to a primary Štokavian dialectal base, and those which supposedly link the Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian continuum with the North Slavic area. Whereas among the latter there is not one phonemic archaism — including the cluster *dl* — that could not have developed independently after the settlement of Slavic tribes in the Alps,[16] the innovations inside the continuum (e.g., *d'* > *j* and **ę* > *o*, versus Štokavian *d'* > *ʒ́* and **ę* > *u*), must have evolved earlier than the mid-ninth century. These two time boundaries are used to define the period of a relative unity of the westernmost part of the South Slavic linguistic continuum which later became exposed to the pull of both centers of innovation, the Slovene and the Štokavian.

2. The earliest isoglosses inside the posited original continuum (e.g., for the evolution of Slovene: the isoglosses of *ě* and denasalization of old **ę* and **ǫ*, the shift of the circumflex, parallel evolution of long *ě* and long *ō*, most of the neocircumflex categories), did not appear in concentration nor did they cover the same areas. It is not by a bundle of isoglosses but by an accumulation of similarities and differences that Slovene must have been opposed to Čakavian for a long time, and continues to be opposed to Kajkavian still today. It is true that a number of early common evolutions later linked the Slovene and Kajkavian dialects several times while touching Čakavian dialects only tangentially.

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[16] The instance of lexical and grammatical doublets (as, e.g., *vi-* < **vy-* vs. *iz* < **jьz-* may reflect very well an alternative usage among those speech communities in the Eastern Alps in contact with the North Slavic area. Their diffusion, however, must have been regulated by forces beyond the scope of the linguistic research.

Other evolutions, characteristic for the formation of Slovene, later expanded into Kajkavian and Čakavian territories. Still other, much younger features entered peripheral Slovene dialects from the Kajkavian speech area. The historical evolution of the continuum, in particular of its Slovene-Čakavian side, seems to have been conditioned more by diffusion of linguistic features by contact than by genetic induction.

3. The dividing line today between Slovene and the westernmost Serbocroatian dialects is more a consequence of historical, political and cultural factors, responsible for the sociolinguistic differentiation of societies, than the result of a radical linguistic division. That is why this boundary has always been much less a linguistic boundary than an administrative-political frontier which, at a certain point in time, imposed linguistic nationalization.[17] By and large, this national frontier was formed with the creation of the eastern defense frontier of the Empire about 1000 A.D. in order to keep it protected from Hungarian and later the Hungarian-Croatian realms. The dividing line entered the linguistic continuum south of the Raba River and followed the present-day eastern boundary of the Slovene ethnic territory, except for the regions east of the Radgona-Sotla River line (Prekmurje and districts of Središče, Ormož, Ljutomer), the region between the lower Krka River and the Gorjanci range, and the entire Bela Krajina, into where the Slovene population expanded only later.

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[17] It was only after the migration of Štokavian and Čakavian elements north of the Kolpa and the Sava Rivers in the 15th-16th centuries that the Croatian name *Hrvat*, *Hrvati*, *hrvatski*, began to replace the older popular ethnicon of the Kajkavian zone: *Slovinje*, *slovenski orszäg*, *slovenski jezik*. When Jernej Kopitar and Vatroslav Jagić classified Kajkavian with the Slovene language (Jagić calls Kajkavci — the "kroatische Slovenen" still in 1870), they followed exclusively dialectological-linguistic criteria. On the other hand, it is the recognition of the affiliation of a speech community to a larger socio-cultural integrated group, such as nationality, and its active participation in the full range of public functions that a language plays in modern society, which defines Kajkavian sociolinguistically as a part of the Serbocroatian speech area (cf. Ivić 1971, 36-37).

Figure 5. TYPES OF ACCENTUAL CHANGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF COMMON SLAVIC AND SLOVENE

*bratrъ *brátra (gen. sg.), *lẹ́to (nom. sg.): Old CS acute; in Sle. evolution -- shortened (brȃt),in internal syllables, however, lengthened again (bráta, lẹ́to);

*dûxъ *dûxa (gen. sg.), *gôrdъ *gôrdu, *sôldъkъ (adj. masc. sg.), *zôlto: Old CS circumflex; in Sle. evolution -- shifted (and lengthened)(dûh duhâ, grâd gradû, sladâk, zlatộ);

*bògъ *bòga (gen.sg.), *gòlǫbь, *òko, *slòvo: Old CS stress on non-final short syllable; in Sle. evolution -- shifted and lengthened (bộg bogâ, golộb, okộ, slovộ); dialectally -- retracted again;

*kon'ь *kon'à (gen. sg.): Old CS oxytona with a preceding short vowel; in Sle. evolution -- retracted (kòn j); in new internal syllables -- lengthened (kón ja);

*kl jūčь *kl jūčà (gen.sg.), *korl'ь *korl'à: Old CS oxytona with a preceding long vowel or diphthong,a case of the neoacute evolution (kl júč kl júča, králj králja);

*bělъ̀jь (adj. masc. sg.), *moldъ̀jь: Old CS stress on internal jers with a preceding long vowel or diphthong (béli, mládi), a case of the neoacute evolution;

*vòl'ā, *nòsītъ (3rd sg. pres.t.): A late CS short rising accent; in Sle. evolution -- lengthened (vól ja, nósi);

*dě́lā (nom. pl.), *lě́ta, *rýbъ (gen.pl.), *dě́lāšь, *vídišь: Slovene--Kajkavian neocircumflex (dẹ̑la, lệta, dẹlaš, vîdiš);

*dūšà, *zvězdà : Old CS oxytona with pretonic length; in Sle. evolution -- retracted (dúša, zvẹ́zda);

ženà, gorà, zelèn, bogàt: Old Slovene oxytona (open and closed) with a preceding short syllable; in Sle. dialectal evolution -- retracted (žéna, góra, zélen, bógat);

meglà, temèn: Old Slovene oxytona (open or closed) with a preceding reduced vowel; in Sle. dialectal evolution -- retracted (mègla, mégla; tèmen, tẹ́men).

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY OF SLOVENE

As in all language differentiation, two types of impulses characterized the evolution of late Common Slavic in the Eastern Alps: the embrionic tendencies latent in its own structure, and the impact of ethnolinguistic contacts in the new habitat. The several-centuries-long interaction of these two forces thus restructured the Common Slavic linguistic base. Already in the early period (600-1000 A.D.), some typically Slovene developments entered the evolution and began to break up what we assume to have been an already relatively unified language. During the next centuries (1000-1500 A.D.), a pattern of dialectal bases began to emerge, which later, during the Modern Slovene period (1500-1800) grew into a network of dialects and subdialects, undergoing a continuous and intensive process of corrosion, restoration and consolidation of their systems and subsystems. The history of the Slovene language is therefore the history of these changes, taken together in the aggregate, as well as a system in its own right. We intend to introduce it here in a broad survey, focusing first, on its development as a system, and secondly, on the individual evolution of a few selected features of its structure.

THE COMMON SLAVIC BASE *Prosodically*, Common Slavic of the sixth century was a polytonic language with stress, quantity, and pitch correlations. Quantity was in complementary distribution with vowel quality in this system, and long vowels participated in a pitch opposition,

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[1] In preparing this chapter, I have relied on information from many sources adduced in notes and included in the Bibliography. My concept of the evolution of Slovene has been shaped, in particular, by Ramovš 1963, Ramovš 1950, Ramovš 1951, Ivić 1966, Logar 1963, and Rigler 1963. I am grateful to Pavle Ivić and Jakob Rigler for their helpful criticism of an earlier version of this chapter.

rising versus falling. The early Common Slavic system had three prosodic elements: a long rising /´/, the acute accent, e.g., **brátrъ *brátra* (gen. sg.); a long falling /ˆ/, the circumflex accent, e.g., **dûxъ*, **zôlto*; and a short falling accent /'/, e.g., **slo̍vo*, **bo̍gъ *bo̍ga* (gen. sg.), **kljūčь̍ *kljūča̍* (gen. sg.), **kon'ь̍ *kon'a̍*.

At some time in its evolution, the Common Slavic prosodic system also acquired a rising accent in short syllables, a /`/, e.g., **vòl'a*, 3 sg. pres. t. **nòsītъ*. Later, but still in the Common Slavic period, in the process of the weakening of jers a new rising accent in long syllables developed. This accent represents the Common Slavic neoacute /˜/, e.g., **kljūčь̍ *kljūča̍* > **kljũčь *kljũča̍*, and parallely in the nom. sg. masc. of compound adjectives of the type **bělъ̍jь* > **bě̃lĩ*.

This prosodic system characterized late Common Slavic during the time of its dissolution and it is still common to all western dialects of the South Slavic linguistic continuum. A retraction of the stress from a final *jer* to a preceding short syllable, paralleling the rise of the neoacute (e.g., **kon'ь̍ *kon'a̍* > **ko̍n' *kon'a̍*), is already a part of the Eastern Alpine Slavic evolution; it must have taken place at the time of the loss of the weak jers.

The *vowel system* of the late Common Slavic had eleven sounds (*i*, ь, *e*, *ę*, *ě*, *a*, *ǫ*, *o*, ъ, *u*, *y*), seven of which were inherently long (*i*, *ę*, *ě*, *a*, *ǫ*, *u*, *y*), four inherently short (ь, ъ, *e*, *o*), and two were reduced (ь, ъ). Of four distinctive oppositions (low-high, back-front, short-long, and oral-nasal), two were fundamental: the short-long, representing the quantitative opposition; and a back-front, regulating a velar-palatal relationship between vocalic and consonantal sounds. Except for the traditional groups *tårt*, *tert*, *tålt*, *telt*; *tъrt*, *tьrt*, *tъlt*, *tьlt*; *årt-*, *ålt- (ert-*, *elt)*, all word syllables were open; Common Slavic of the early Alpine Slavic period still had an open syllable structure.

The inventory of *consonantal sounds* of this early Alpine Common Slavic can be posited as follows: labials *p-b*, *v*, *m*; dentals *t-d*, *s-z*, *n*, *l*, *r*; velars *k-g*, *x*; postdentals *č*, *š-ž*; and palatalized dentals *n'*, *l'*, *r'*, *ś*, *ć*, *ʒ́*, and *t'-d'*, with *ć* and *ʒ́* not yet in phonological opposition to *t'* and *d'*. There was no *j* among the palatals, no labiodental *v* and *f* among the fricatives. The sound traditionally denoted *v* was bilabial [w] or [u̯]. This system was governed by three relations:

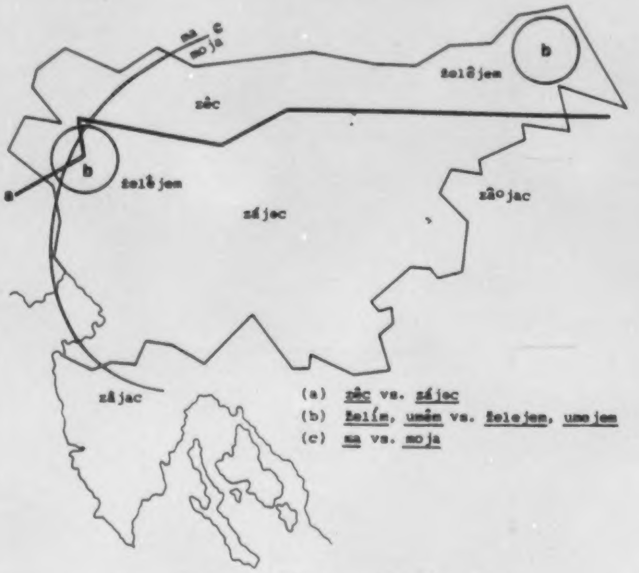

Figure 6. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS IN SLOVENE

Among the most frequent contracting sequences and their results in the Eastern Alpine Common Slavic and later Slovene (VjV > V̄) were: oja > ā, aje > ē, oje > ē, eje > ē, oję > ę̄, yjь > ī. When the new long vowel was accented, the accent is falling if the first vowel in the original sequence carried the stress, and rising if the stress was on the second vowel in the sequence. E.g., *pòjasъ > pȃs, *umèješi > umȇš (2nd sg. pres. t.), *svojákъ > svák, *stojálъ > stȃl. When the new long vowel was unaccented, it was later shortened; e.g., *dȇlaješi > *dêlāš > dȇlaš; *dobrajego (gen. sg.) > *dóbrojega > *dóbrēga > dóbrega.

Some contractions in Slovene occur in isolated lexemes and are phonologically conditioned; e.g., báti se (inf.), bál (-l part) < *bojáti sę, *bojalъ; státi, stál < *stojati, *stojálъ; gospá < *gospojā < *gospod-ja; pás < *pojasъ; svák < *svojákъ; stríc < *stryjьcь; zȃc and zájec < *zájecь.

Others, more numerous, are morphologically conditioned and occur in three categories: in the present tense of traditional -a verbs, in the present tense of some traditional -ę verbs, and in the declension endings of compound adjectives. In the dialects one finds morphologically conditioned contractions also in possessive pronouns. E.g., dȇlaš < *dêlāš < *dȇlaješi; umȇš < umėješ < *umėješi; umȇš < *uméješi; dóbrega < *dóbrēga < *dóbroega < dóbrajego.

The contracted type dȇlaš is productive, the type umȇš is represented only by two verbs in the literary standard, umẹ́ti umȇš and umẹ́ješ, and smẹ́ti, smȇš. All other verbs of this category follow the pattern vídeti vidim, e.g., živẹ́ti živím, bogatẹ́ti bogatím, gorẹ́ti gorím. In some dialects of the Slovene Littoral group (Obsoški, Nadiški, Tolminski) and in Prekmurje, however, the non-contracted pattern is still used, e.g.: umẹ́ti umẹ́jem, letẹ́ti letẹ́jem, želẹ́ti želẹ́jem, hitẹ́ti hitẹ́jem, bogatẹ́ti bogatẹ́jem, slabẹ́ti slabẹ́jem, živẹ́ti živẹ́jem.

A specific case of an old contraction in the three westernmost dialectal groups of the South Slavic continuum (Slovene, Kajkavian, North Čakavian), is the instrumental singular feminine -a stems desinence -ǫ́ (e.g., z lepo ženǫ́) which suggests the following evolution: -ǫ́ < *-ǭ < *oǫ < *ojǫ; e.g., Slovene ženǫ́ < *ženoǫ < *ženojǫ. It is apparent that the contraction here took place before the denasalization of nasal vowels, and that the loss of the intervocalic j, which caused the contraction, must, at least in these forms, have been still older.

The contracted forms of compound adjectives declension endings were generalized very early in Slovene. The Freising Fragments have contracted forms, e.g. diniznego III 41 (gen. sg. masc., denešnego), zuetemu I 3 (dat. sg. masc., svetēmu), vuec/ne vuezelie I 34 (nom. acc. sg. neut., věčnē vesel'e, from *-oje > *oe > -ē).

In an other category, possessive pronouns, the Freising Fragments abound in contracted forms which are unknown to the standard Slovene of today. One finds here, e.g.: pridete otza mega izvuolieni I 33 (= pridēte otca mēga izvol'eni; gen. sg.); protiu memu creztu I 19-20 (= protiv mēmu krstu; dat. sg.); tebe poron/o me telo i mo du/u I 29-30 (= mē tělo i mǫ dušu; acc. sg.); po zuem dele III 59 (= po svēm dělě; loc. sg.); or tuo milozt I 33 (= tvǫ milost) and tuuoiu milozt III 51 (= tvoję milost, acc. sg.).

Such contracted forms of possessive pronouns appear later both in the MSS of Stična: meyga I 13, twega IV 15, seyga I 11 (gen. sg.), meych I 17 (gen. pl.), meymy I 18 (inst. sg.); and in Primož Trubar's texts, e.g., mega (gen. sg.), in Ene duhoune pejsni, 1563. The contracted forms of pronouns are also quite frequent in the northern and northwestern dialects: e.g., in Zilja mému (dat. sg.), twá for tvoja (nom. sg. fem.); Venetian Slovenia ma for moja (nom. sg. fem.); or Rezija miha for mojega (< *mēga gen. sg.), mē for moje (nom. sg. neut.), po min oče 'after my father' (loc. sg. masc.). Note that some contracted forms of pronouns are preserved in the Čakavian dialect also: e.g., ma for moja. The Slovene standard forms mója, móje, mójega, etc., were restored on the pattern of pronominal forms of adjectives; they appear in the sixteenth century.

voice, place of articulation, and manner of articulation. The hard-soft correlation before back-front vowels was, of course, only positional.

The sound substitutions in the toponomastics, in the pre-Slavic place names adopted by the Slavic settlers in the area, as well as in the earliest attested Slavic names adopted by the non-Slavic speakers of the area, corroborate this state of affairs.

E.g., for Common Slavic reduced vowels *ъ, *ь: old Friulian **čividade* > **čьvьdad* , today *Čedad*; Latin *Poetovio*, Vulgar Lat. **petoi̯o* > **pъtujь*, today *Ptuj*; Slavic **žabьnica* > Bav. *Sabiniche* (1100); **mъšьnica* > Germ. *Mushnitz* (1170); a Slavic personal name in old Bavarian records: *Dabramuzli* (ab. 750) for **dobromyslь*; and *Rakanize* (1126) for **rakъnica*.

For Common Slavic **ě*, e.g., Latin *Aquilěia* > **ogъlějь* today *Oglej*; or, Slavic *běla* , Germ. *Pielach*, *Bielaha* (811).

For Common Slavic **ǫ*, e.g., Vulgar Lat. **longatici* > Slavic **lǫgatьcь*, today *Logatec*; *Sontius* > **sǫt'a*, today *Soča*; Slavic **labǫtъ* > Bav. *Labanta* (860), today *Lafental*; and Slavic **lǫka* > Germ. *Lunka* (1140), today *Lang*.

For Common Slavic **ę*, e.g., Lat. *Piquentum*, Rom. dial. **pilgent*, Slavic **bьlzęt* , today *Buzet*; and Slavic **svęt'axъ* (loc. pl. **svęt'ane*, Sle. *Svečane*) > Germ. *Zwenkach* (1238).

For Common Slavic **y*, e.g., Latin *mūrum* > Slavic **myrъ*, today *mir*, *Mirje*; Romance *Utinum*, Old Friulian *Udino* > Sle. **vydьnъ*, today *Viden*; and Slavic **bystrica* > Bav. **viustritz*, *Vistriza* (1073), *Vewstricz* (1398).

For old liquid diphthongs, e.g., old Romance **Karni̯a* > Slavic **karn'ь̍* > *kran'ь̍*, today *Kranj*; Slavic **berzьnica* (later **brězьnica*) > Germ. *Bernsnicha* (853); Romance *Corca* (797) > Alpine Slavic **kъrka*, today *Krka*; Romance *Colapis*, *Culpa* (799) > Alpine Slavic **kъlpa*, today *Kolpa*; Romance *Tergeste* > Slavic **tьrzьstь̍*, today *Trst*; and **tilmōn-* > Slavic **tьlmynъ* > **tl̥min* *Tulminum* (1146), today *Tolmin*.

For *d'*, *t'*, e.g., **trǫd'ane* (from Romance **Atrande* + CS **-jane*) > Slovene *Trojane*; and *Sontius* > **sot'a* > *Soča* (dialectally also *Suča*).

FIRST INNOVATIONS IN EASTERN ALPINE SLAVIC Although most of what was going on in Alpine Common Slavic before the end of the tenth century was part of changes within a much larger speech area, some of these changes clearly pointed to narrower evolutions, a few of which were already distinctly Slovene innovations.

Two such early changes continue the late Common Slavic tendencies of prosodic evolution: the shortening of the old acute accent in all positions (e.g., **brátrъ *brátra* > **bràtrъ *bràtra*), and the phonologization of the neoacute (e.g., **kljũčь* > **kljúčь*); both changes are still shared with other dialects in the continuum (e.g., Čak. *brȁt brȁta*, *kljúč kljūčȁ*). Thus, the basic pattern of the Eastern Alpine Slavic accentual types at this point included **kljúčь *kljūčȁ* < **kljũčь *kljūčȁ*, **bélī* < **bẽlī*, **dûxъ*, **grâdъ* < **gôrdъ*, **zlâto* < **zôlto*, **vòl'ā*, **nòsītъ*, **kon'ь̍ *kon'a̍*, **bràtrъ *bràtra*, **slo̍vo*, and **bo̍gъ *bo̍ga*. All the differences in today's dialects of this broad area are the results of the later evolution of this system.

At that point in time, the loss of word-final reduced vowels induced two changes in this system: the retraction of stress from a final *jer* to a preceding short syllable (this accent later merged with the / ̏/ of the shortened old acute, e.g., **kon'ь̍* > **kȍn'*, and **bràtrъ *bràtra*) and the lengthening of the closed syllables under stress (e.g., **bo̍gъ *bo̍gā* > *bȏg *bo̍gā*). Perhaps slightly later a series of neocircumflex variants of the old acute accent emerged, e.g., nom. pl. **dȇlā*, gen. pl. **rŷb* , 2 sg. pres. t. **dȇlāšь*, *vȋdīšь*. A number of these latter categories are today limited to the Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian speech area (see Figure 5).

It was during this same period that two of the very first prosodic innovations detached a narrower Eastern Alpine Slavic area, later becoming Slovene, from the evolution of Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects. One of these consisted in a shift of the non-rising accents (the old long and short falling) for one syllable toward the end of the word (e.g., **zlâto* > **zlāto̍*, **dûxā* (gen. sg.) > *dūxâ*, **grâdū* (gen. sg.) > **grādû*; **bo̍gā* (gen. sl.) > **bogâ*, **slo̍vo* > **slovo̍*, **gȍlǫbъ* > **golǫ̍bъ*, **slâdъkъ* > **slādə̍k*); the other in a lengthening of such non-rising accents (e.g., **zlāto̍* > *zlātô*, **slovo̍* > *slovô*, **golǫ̍bъ* > **golôb*).

Such a progressive shift of the non-rising accents and their subsequent lengthening is to be considered the first independent innovation in the evolution of the new language in the Eastern Alps, the Slovene.

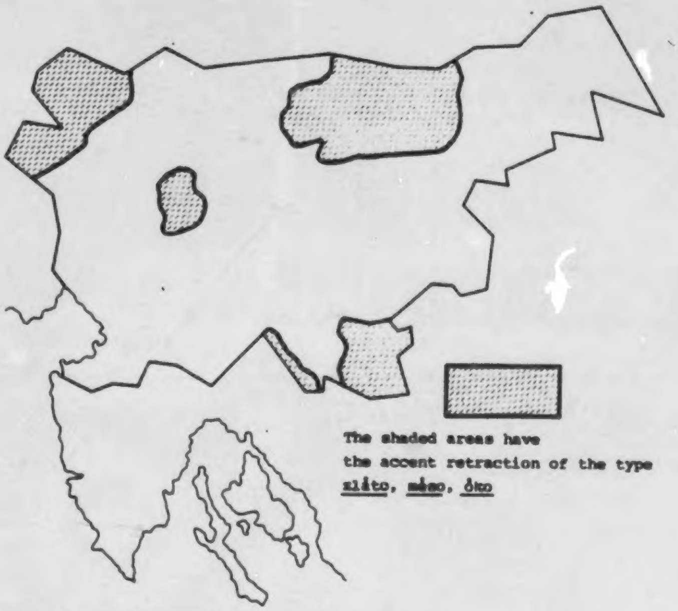

Figure 7. THE ACCENTUAL TYPE *zlatô* IN SLOVENE

The majority of Slovene dialects participated in the progressive shift of the long falling accent to the following syllable, e.g., of the type **zlâto* > *zlatô*, **mâso* > *mesô*, **ôko* > *okô*. CSS reflects this situation and has *blagô*, *kolô*, *senô*, *prosô*, *senô*, *okô*, *slovô*, *srebrô*, *zlatô*, *testô*, *uhô*, *imê*, *poljê*, *morjê*, *srcê*; *golôb*, *gospôd*, *oblâk*, *korâk*; *podkôva*, *navâda*, *izdâja*, *posôda*, *sirôta*, *dobrôta*; *pomlâd*, *pomôč*, *perôt*, *kokôš*, *mladôst*, *modrôst*, *oblâst*, *korîst*, *čeljûst*, *bolêst*, *večêr*, [illegible]; *bolân*, [illegible], *močân*, *sladâk*, *težâk*, *tenâk*, *mehâk*, *temân*; *glavô* (acc. sg.) : *na glâvo*, *vodô* : *po vôdo*; *rokê* (nom. pl.), *nogê*, *sestrê*, *glavê*, etc.

There are four separate zones in the Slovene speech area which had a subsequent retraction of this accent to the preceding syllable (not before the eighteenth century). The dialects of these zones are:

some eastern dialects of Carinthia, including a part of the dialect of Rož (e.g., *mêso*, *ògo*, *bùkhe*), the dialect of Meža (*òko*, *mèsa*), Obir (*svâto*, *òg*, *mâs*), Remšenik (*zlâto*, *mâso*), and the adjoining Styrian dialect of the Savinja Valley (*zlâto*, *svâto*, *zlôtu*);

the Zilja (e.g., *svátọ*, *mẹso*, *óko*), Rezija, and the adjoining Ter dialect (e.g., *šîsu*, *ôko*, *kôlo*, *hôlup*, *hôspût*, *kôkuš*);

the Poljane dialect of the Rovte group (e.g., *zlàtu*, *mẹsu*, *ók*, *γòspọd*); and

the Bela Krajina dialects (e.g., *zlàtu* and *zlâto*, *vuôku*, *gôsput*, *mèsu*).

Obviously it did not affect the grammatical categories which participated in neocircumflex prosodic changes,[2] and since it did not affect the types **dûxъ* and **grȃdъ* either, it must have been younger than the disappearance of weak *jers* in Alpine Slavic. How significant the long-range effect of these changes for the evolution of the new language was, can be deduced from its later development. The wave of lengthening of short stressed vowels set off a tendency which became distinctive of Slovene evolution: to strengthen the long-stressed *versus* short-unstressed syllable opposition in language. This opposition will soon begin to control the word structure of Slovene.

Among the changes in the *sound system* of the Eastern Alpine Slavic of this period, again, very few, if any, can be treated as exclusively Slovene innovations. While at least two of them, one consonantal (**d'* > *j*) and one vocalic (**ǫ* > *o*), seem to have radiated from a narrower base in the Eastern Alps, their isoglosses link them with a broader Kajkavian-Čakavian area; the **d'* > *j* change is connected even with a part of the Štokavian dialects. It was only much later that they became characteristic of the Slovene language.

Among the innovations in the consonantal system, the changes of the Common Slavic palatalized dentals **t'* and **d'* must have started during this period. The assibilation of **t'* > *ć* (e.g., **svet'ja* > **svet'a* > *sveća*; cf. Čak. *svīćȁ*, SCr. *svéća* and *svijèća*) was originally shared with the entire West South Slavic continuum; for Slovene it is still today part of the western dialects (e.g., Kras, Goriško, Venetian Slovenia dialects *sri̯éća*). The general *ć* > *č* change (e.g., *svẹ̌ča*, *srẹ̌ča*) must have occurred much later, though in the Central dialects already in the eleventh century. On the other hand, the assibilation of **d'* > *j* (e.g., **med'ja* > **med'a* > *meja*) had a narrower radius; its isogloss included Kajkavian and Čakavian, and still today includes a portion of the western Štokavian area in Bosnia and Dalmatia, e.g., CS **tud'ьjь* > Sle. Kajk. Čak. West Štok. *tuji* vs. SCr. *tuđi*.

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[2] The fact that the neocircumflex in Slovene, e.g., 1 sg. pres. t. *vîdim* < **vídīm*, *dệlam* < **dēlām*, instr. sg. *krâvo* < **krávo*, nom. pl. *mệsta* < **méstā*, def. adj. *sȋti* < **sîtī*, did not participate in the progressive shift of the non-rising accents, may be explained if we posit a difference in the nature of both accents, or a difference in the treatment of grammatical categories marked by neocircumflex.

The palatalized dentals *ć*, *ź*, *ś*, the products of the so-called third palatalization of the velars *k*, *g*, *x* after *i* series vowels (a change which was operating in the Eastern Alps probably until the ninth century), were before the end of this period simplified and merged with */c/*, */z/* and */s/* respectively. This evolution can be followed in substitutions of the palatalized dental *ć*, produced by the third palatalization, in original Slavic place names in the areas first colonized by Bavarians; its oldest notations seem to fluctuate between Bavarian graphical *k* and *ch* (the latter may represent the palatalized *k'* which has not yet reached the stage of */c/*; e.g., *Liesing-* [860], *Lieznicha* [1002] from **lěsьnica*).[3] The *Freising Fragments*, on the other hand, graphically differentiate between */c/* of the third palatalization and */ć/* from **tj* (e.g., *liza* [II 31], *otzu* [II 61], as compared to *choku* [III 47] from **xot'ǫ*).

The depalatalization of three other Common Slavic palatalized sounds, *n'*, *l'*, *r'*, essentially linked with the hardening of the consonantal system in the South Slavic dialects, must have started during this period as well. The **r'* > *r*/*rj* change, which resulted in hard */r/* in final and preconsonantal position, and a *rj* cluster before vowels (e.g., **cěsarь* > *cesar*, gen. sg. *cesarja*, **mor'e* > *morje*), shared today by the Slovene and Kajkavian area of the continuum, is attested already in the *Freising Fragments* (e.g., *tebe ze mil tuoriv* [I 21-22] = *tebě se mil tvorjǫ*).

The so-called rhotacism (a shift of sound *ž* to *r* in intervocalic position) and the simplification of the *tl*, *dl* clusters to *l* have also been among the innovations of this early evolution. Although sporadical today in the Kajkavian and Čakavian dalects, the *ž* > *r* change has been better preserved in Slovene (e.g., **možešь* > *moreš*, **ka-že* > *kar*); its first case is recorded in the *Freising Fragments*. On the other hand, the *tl*, *dl* simplification to *l*, initially a Common Slavic evolutionary process which very probably continued in the Eastern Alps, must have also progressed into the Alpine regions from the east and south-east of the continuum ever since the Avaro-Slavic migration wave reached that area. By the end of the tenth century, it probably extended already into the lower regions of the Slovene speech area (see Figure 9).

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[3] Ramovš 1924, 268-274.

Figure 8. THE NEOCIRCUMFLEX IN SLOVENE

The neocircumflex is one of the metatonic accents in words with the old acute accent; it substitutes an expected reflex of the old rising intonation by a new falling tone, and corresponds to a circumflex accent contour.

Known to the western South Slavic dialects which preserved pitch correlations, the neocircumflex appears with the highest frequency in the Slovene and Kajkavian speech areas; its focal point seems to have been in the Slovene dialects; a number of neocircumflex categories are also present in Northwest Čakavian, and some in Štokavian dialects.

The neocircumflex in Slovene is distinguished in that it does not participate in the progressive accent shift of the **zlâto* > *zlatô* type. A number of its categories, unequally distributed in the dialects, are present in CSS. Some of them are:

1. the present tense of some verb classes marked with the old acute accent; e.g., *rẹ́zati*, 2nd sg. *rệžeš*, *mázati* *mâžeš*, *dẹ́lati* *dệlaš*, *gíniti* *gîneš*, *mísliti* *mîsliš*, *čúti* *čûješ*, *kupováti* *kupûješ*;

2. the past passive participle of the same verbs; e.g., masc. sg. *rệzan*, *pomâzan*, *mîšljen*;

3. the feminine form of the past participle of some of these verbs (an essentially dialectal accent); e.g., *rệzala*, *mâzala*, *dệlala*, *mîslila*;

4. the definite forms of adjectives with the old acute accent; e.g., *slâbi*, *sîti*, *bogâti*, *r̂vi*, *drûgi*;

5. the genitive plural of all substantives with the old acute accent (also an essentially dialectal type); e.g., *lîp*, *lệt*;

6. the plural of the neuter gender substantives of the type *lệta*, *mệsta*, *dệla*, *korîta*;

7. the instrumental singular feminine *-a* stem substantives with the old acute accent; e.g., *rîbo*, *lîpo*, *krâvo*, *lopâto*; and

8. some patterns of the masculine substantives; e.g., *cệstar*, *mlînar*, *sîtar*, *rîbič*, *jâstreb*.

All these categories are shared with Kajkavian dialects and some also with Northwest Čakavian. Thus, in Kastav (Čak.) one finds categories (1) *dệlaš*, *gîneš*, *plâčeš*, *kâješ se*, *čûješ*; (4) *slâbi*, *sîti*, *dûgi*, *bogâti*; (6) *dêla*, *mêsta*. However, none of these categories are present in Štokavian, e.g., *dȅlāš* and *djȅlāš*, *gînēš*, *kȁjēš se*, *čȕjēš*; *sȉtī*, *slȁbī*, *dȕgī*, *bogâtī* and *bȍgatī*, *l'ȅtā*.

There is no linguistic testimony to support the claim that the Slavic dialects in the Eastern Alps inherited a voiced velar fricative γ from Common Slavic, as all the documentation of its existence comes from a much later period. Territorially restricted to the extreme northwest of the continuum, and separated, as it is, from the West Slavic dialects which know the *g* > γ change (Slovak, Czech, Upper Sorbian), the South Slavic *g* > γ evolution may well represent an insular Slovene-Čakavian dialectal event of a later period (see below).

In the *vowel system* the elimination of the liquid diphthongs *or*, *ol*, *er*, *el* in word initial (*ort-*, *olt-*) as well as in word-internal (*tort*, *tolt*, *tert*, *telt*) position, through metathesis and lengthening (> *rat-*, *lat-*; *trat*, *tlat*, *trět*, *tlět*), represents a late Common Slavic tendency whose development in Eastern Alpine Slavic can be followed historically long after the settlement of Slavic tribes, probably until the end of the ninth century. Numerous traces of the non-metathesized forms in German and Bavarian borrowings and records from Alpine Slavic can be found in place names, e.g., *Persinicha* (893) for **berzьnica* (i.e., *Breznica*), many more in the nomenclature adopted by the Slavic speakers in the area, e.g., *Labnica* < **labъnica* < **albanto-*, *Rašica*, *raša* < **ars(i̯)a*, *Vlah* < **vlaxъ* < **walchs*, *krâlj* < **karl'ь* < *Karl*. The relation between today's Slovene and South Slavic reflexes of liquid diphthongs is obvious; they are part of the same evolution. Their relation to Czech and Slovak — *trat*, *tlat*, *trět*, *tlět* is shared with Czech and Slovak, the reflexes of **ôrt-*, **ôlt-* under falling intonation with Central Slovak dialects — is more complex: While the *trat* type reflexes argue more for prehistorical evolutional tendencies in the continuum that for historical socio-cultural contacts, the remnants of the *rat-* type reflexes in Central Slovak may reflect historical contacts with South Slavic communities.

A much more far-reaching change of this period, also shared with other South Slavic dialects, was a negative pronemic "innovation"; the suppression of positional softness in the late Common Slavic consonants. Thus, Slovene did not develop the hard-soft opposition in its consonantal system which characterizes the East and West Slavic languages. Two changes in the early Alpine Slavic vowel system have prepared this development: the merger of the reduced vowels ъ and ь to a central ə, and the merger of the high vowels *i* and *y* to a front *i*. Both changes must have taken place during the ninth-tenth centuries. These were probably the first two changes in the Slovene vowel system which laid the foundation for its later labio-velar organization. The new ə, of course, continued the reduced vowels only in strong position; elsewhere the *jers* might have begun to disappear even earlier in Alpine Slavic (ninth century). The nasal vowels, which toward the end of this period have already denasalized from *ǫ to *o*, and from *ę to *e*, with the evolution of the former shared with Kajkavian and part of Čakavian, and the latter with all South Slavic dialects, did not play any role in this development.

The loss of *jers* in weak position was followed by another crucial change: the elimination of the open syllable structure of the language; e.g., **bo-gъ* > *bog*, **bra-trъ* > *brat*. The creation of the new closed syllables carried with it extensive consequences: the lengthening of the new closed syllables (see above) and a new series of consonantal clusters with processes of their simplification, including the positional neutralization of the voiced-voiceless correlation in obstruents before pause and before voiced-voiceless consonants. Some of these changes became structurally significant only later but some were phonologically relevant immediately.

As a consequence of the weakening and loss of intervocalic *i̯*, another series of lengthenings appeared in the Alpine Slovene through contractions independently from the changes in the new closed syllables. A number of contracted grammatical forms are known in South Slavic evolution. They may be structurally so significant as, for instance, the present tense pattern of old *-a-ti* and *-ě-ti* verbs (e.g., 2nd sg., **dělai̯eši* > **delāš*, **uměi̯eši* > **umēš*), the forms of compound adjectives (e.g., gen. sg. **dobrai̯ego* > **dobroi̯ega* > **dobrēga*), or structurally marginal and dialectal (for instance, various case forms of the possessive pronouns, e.g., gen. sg. **moi̯ego* > **mēgo* > *mega*; see Figure 6). These forms are attested already in the *Freising Fragments* and must have had earlier a broader territorial extent than today.

In spite of all spelling inconsistencies and obscurities, the notation of Slavic sounds in the *Freising Fragments*, the oldest datable Slavic text with marked Slovene dialectal features, reflects all of these and other structural changes in the Alpine Slavic phonological

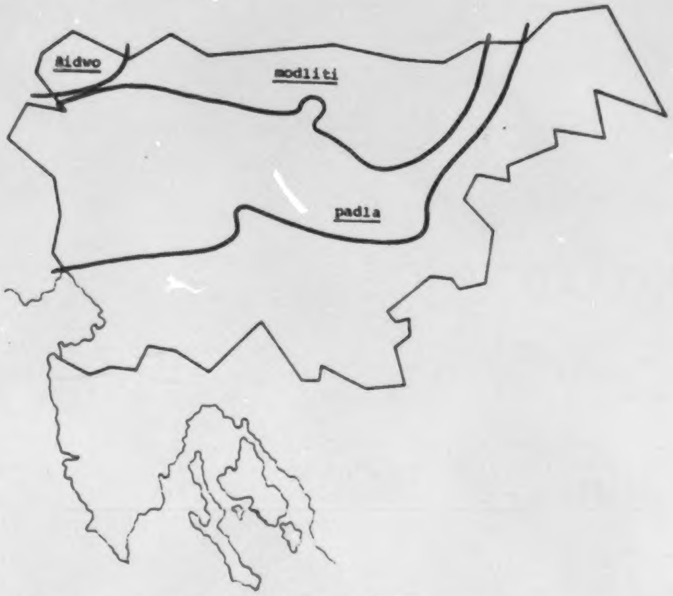

Figure 9. THE *_tl_, *_dl_ CLUSTERS IN SLOVENE

Dialectally, at least two different series of parameters of the *_tl_, *_dl_ > _l_ change exist in Slovene: one for isolated lexical items with _tl_, _dl_ clusters in their structure, and one for paradigmatic forms of the _-l_ participle of verbs whose stems end in _-t_, _-d_.

Some isolated lexemes still appear in the extreme northwestern dialect of Zilja. Here one finds _šidwo_ (< *_šidlo_), _krìdwo_ (*_kridlo_), _kosìdwo_ (*_kosidlo_), _pwačìdwo_ (*_plačidlo_), _kadidwo_ (*_kadidlo_), _jèdva_ (*_jedla_). In these lexemes CSS has assimilated clusters which are known elsewhere in the Slovene dialects: _šilo_, _krilo_, _kosilo_, _plačilo_, _kadilo_, _jela_. One lexeme in this series, the verb _modliti_ (CSS _moliti_) and its paradigm, covers much broader area. It is known to some Carinthian dialects which preserved this lexeme and to the adjoining areas of Lower Styria. In CSS the assimilated form _molíti mólim_ is used.

The paradigmatic forms of the _-l_ participle with preserved _tl_ and _dl_ clusters (in forms of the type *_padlъ_, *_padla_) follow an isogloss running across the Slovene speech territory approximately from Devin in the Gulf of Trieste through Kras, Notranjsko, Lower Carniola and the eastern edge of Styria. South and east of this line the assimilated forms of the type _pala_ are used, allowed in CSS as stylistic variants, e.g., _padla_ and _pala_, _pletla_ and _plela_, _vedla_ and _vela_, _sedla_ and _sela_, _jedla_ and _jela_.

The distribution and direction of the _tl_, _dl_ isoglosses in Slovene would indicate that the _tl_, _dl_ > _l_ change might have progressed into the Eastern Alps from the southeast in a northwest direction. Yet the assimilation process in Slovene might have had its origin inside the Eastern Alps area as well. A number of early Bavarian forms of Slavic place names would suggest that during the centuries after the settlement of the Slavs, the unassimilated _tl_, _dl_ clusters were used in Alpine Slavic. E. g., the recorded names in today's Upper and Lower Austria and Carinthia: _Zedelzach_ (1060 A.D.), _Ediltschach_ (1100 A.D.), _Cedelse_ (1185 A.D.), _Zadlitz_ (1300 A.D.)(< *_sedlьcaxъ_ loc. pl. of *_sedlьce_, though it is not clear whether the basic form of these names was *_sedlo_ 'settlement' or *_sedъlo_ 'saddle'); _Edlitz_ (1083 A.D.) (< *_jedla_); _Dudleipin_ (840 A.D.), _Dulieb_ (1060 A.D.) (< *_dudlěb-_). The _Freising Fragments_ have both the unassimilated and the assimilated forms, which probably reflects the _tl_, _dl_ > _l_ change in process in the Carinthian dialects of the time. E.g., _crilatcem_ I 4 but _modlim_ II 36, _vzedli_ II 62/63.

system of this period. Thus, for example, it would seem that the *Freising Fragments* still indicate the nasality in both Common Slavic nasal vowels; they already use one reflex for reduced vowels, and this usage is linked to the strong position; they write only one *i* (the instances with the spellings *u*, *ui*, for CS **y* appear only after labials, e.g., *muzlite* [II 84] for **myslite*); and they use only one *e* for CS **e*, **ě*, and **ę*. The spellings of consonantal sounds in the fragments indicate that their scribes already observed the *d'* > *j* change in their notation of Alpine Slavic, whereas no confirmation for the parallel *t'* > *č* change can be found; e.g., *toie* [II 106] for **toję*, *ſegna* [II 45-46] for **žęjna*; however, *choku* [III 47] for **xot'ę*, and *malomogoncka* [II 48] for **malomogęt'a*. The fragments give examples of the alternate use of *dl* ∿ *l* (e.g., *modliti* [II 59], however, *crilatcem* [I 4]). They already have several examples of the rhotacism *ž* > *r* (e.g., *tere* [II 32] for *teže*), and their notation of the CS **r'* may already indicate its depalatalization (e.g., *tuoriv* [I 22] for **tvor'ę*).

The *morphological structure* of Alpine Slavic during the centuries before 1000 A.D. was probably still close to that of Common Slavic. The extent of grammatical conservatisms and of specific Slovene innovations during this period is best attested in the *Freising Fragments*. One finds here among the conservative feaures, for instance, the use of both simple past tenses (aorist and imperfect); the old conditional pattern *bim* (I 25), participles *vuede* (I 14; today *vedê*), *zpe* (I 17; today *spê*), *imugi* (II 5; today *imajoč*); old verbal forms such as *vědě* (I 14; today *vem*), *modlim* (II 59; today *molimo*), the imperative *priměte* (I 33); the retention of the old nominal declension of adjectives, and the use of the vocative and of a number of Common Slavic pronominal forms (later lost in Slovene evolution). Among the innovations, for instance, are found the extension of the desinence *-ov* in gen. pl. masc. substantives (e.g., *grechou* [I 10], *greh* [I 22]; the generalization of the soft desinence *-e* in hard stems of masc. and fem. substantive declensions (e.g., *greſnike* [III 69], *grehe* [III 27] vs. *grechi* [II 111] acc. pl.); the use of the gen. sg. desinence in acc. sg. masc. substantives to mark the difference between the animate and inanimate (e.g., *narod* [I 28]; however, *bratra* [II 21], *neprijaznina* [II 33] acc. sg.); the use of *-ga* instead of *-go* in the gen. sg. pronominal declension (e.g., *iega* [III 6] and *iego* [III 2]); the loss of *-t* in the 3rd sg. pres. tense forms (e.g., *ieſt* [I 35] and *ie* [I 8], *dozſtoi* [II 95]); and the use of a new present active participle form in *-ĉi* instead of old *-y* (e.g., *imoki* [II 6] and *imugi* [II 5]). Not one of these innovations, however, is such that it could be singled out as specifically Slovene; they are shared with the South Slavic continuum, in particular with the adjoining areas of the later Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects.

THE EVOLUTION OF SLOVENE: 1000-1500 The linguistic innovations documented in the *Freising Fragments*, the first historical text of the Alpine Slavic to be called *Slovene*, cannot, however, be interpreted simply to mark the end of an old and the beginning of a new language. Language evolutions do not know sudden breaks, and the results of their processes are but consequences of previously existing forces, however invisible under the surface they may lie. Thus, the linguistic changes of Slovene, which are attested in the earliest documentation of its second evolutionary stage (after 1000 A.D.); that is in the *MS of Rateče* (ab. 1370), *MSS of Stična* (1428, 1440), *MS of Stara Gora* (1492-98), and the *MS of Černjeja* (1497-1507), all of which give us a fairly satisfactory picture of its linguistic, in particular dialectal, developments, must have had their beginnings earlier. In fact so early that even the evolution of Alpine Slavic into Slovene must be understood as having coincided with the earliest dialectalization processes of the latter. The first series of changes in the prosodic pattern and in the vowel system of Slovene which establish its identity as a distinct language and stipulate the basic direction of its historical evolution, therefore already have every appearance of dialectal isoglosses within the new language.

Prosodic innovations. At the end of the Old Slovene period (ab. 1000 A.D.), Slovene possessed two long and two short accents. The neoacute, as in *strážā*, *kljúč* (vs. gen. **kljūčȁ*), gen. pl. *kọ́nj*, was long and rising; the old and lengthened circumflex, as in *dûx*, gen. *dūxâ*, *grâd grādû*, *zlātô*, *slovô*, and the neocircumflex of the type nom. pl. *dêlā*, 2 sg. pres. t. *dêlaš*, were long and falling. Of the short accents there was only one phonemic unit, the short rising, also a product of several evolutions; it represented the short neoacute as in **vȍl'a*, **nȍsiš*, the secondary short vowel accent of the type *kȍnj* (nom. sg.), and the shortened old acute as in **brȁt *brȁta*, **krȁva*. Its variant,

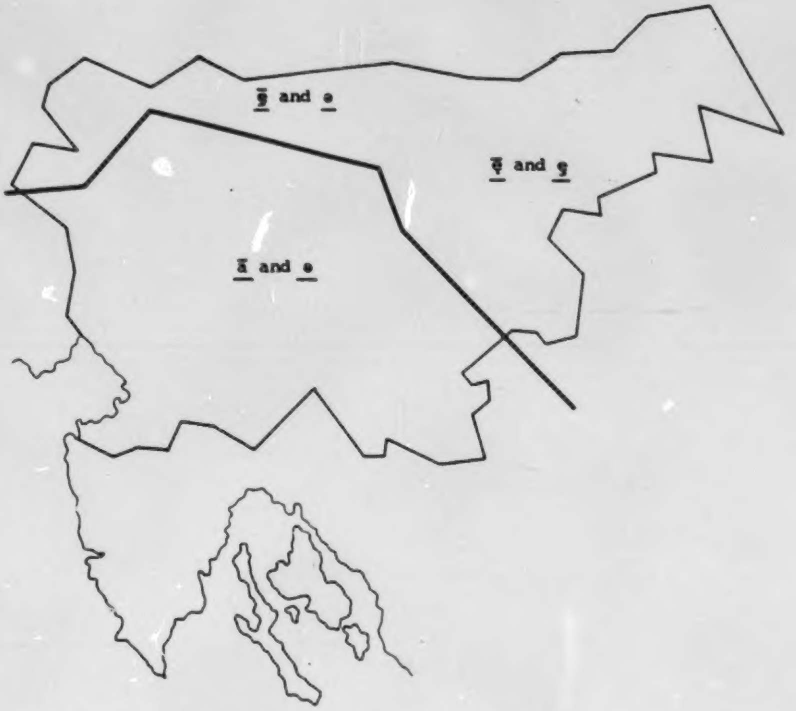

Figure 10. REFLEXES OF CS *ъ, *ь IN LONG VOWELS

Slovene has only one reflex for CS *ъ, *ь in strong position which, in long syllables, appears in two varieties: ā and ẹ̄. The latter is found in the northeastern dialects and is shared with Kajkavian, the former is characteristic for the southwestern dialects and is continued in Čakavian and Štokavian.

The reflex of strong jers in short syllables which, in the Slovene dialects, also has two forms, ə or ẹ, folows by and large the same isogloss. A short ẹ appears in the dialects of Styria and is shared with Kajkavian. Note, however, that schwa (ə) differs phonetically in the Slovene dialects.

Thus, e.g. for CS *dьnь, *vьsь, *sъnъ, *slěpьcь, one finds in the northeastern dialects dẹ̑n, vẹ̑s, sə̀n, slẹ̑pec (Styria); dẹ̑n, vẹ̑s, sə̀n, slépec (Carinthia); tə̂st (*tьstь), dîn, ves and vȧs (*vьsь), pjânac (*pьjanьcь)(Rezija); however in the southwestern dialects dân, vâs vasî̑, (gen. sg.), slêpec, pəjânc (Kras); dân, sə̇n, slêpec (Notranjsko); dân, sə̀n, slẹpec (Central dialects). The CSS has the reflexes of the Central dialects for strong jers: in long syllables ā and in short syllables ə (orthographically e); e.g., dán dné; vás vasí; sen sna; slépec slẹpca, pijánec pijânca.

The oldest correspondencies and substitutions for jers indicate that they were still opposed front vs. back after the settlement of Slavs in the Eastern Alps. E.g. Germ. Rubinicha (980 A.D.) for *rybьnika; Germ. Sabiniche (1100 A.D.) for *žabьnika; Germ. Mushnitz (1170 A.D.) for *mъšьnika; Lat. missa, Sle. mьša; Romance Venétici, Sle. *bьnétьci, Benetke; Vulgar Lat. *Čividáde, Sle. *Čьvьdádь.

The loss of jers in weak position occurred very early in Slovene. The oldest attested instances are dated 864 A.D., e.g. Domemus for *domomyslь, Godemus for *godimyslь. The Freising Fragments have only one reflex for jers in strong position; it is written as e or i; e.g., zelom I 5 (= *sъlomъ, dat. pl.), dini II 83 (= *dьni, gen. sg.). In weak position, the jers either were omitted (e.g., detd II 1 = *dědъ, nom. sg.) or were used analogically after their basic forms. The merger of both jers into ə was completed by the eleventh century in Slovene. The vocalization of ə̄ to ẹ or ā must have been motivated by an early phonetic differentiation in the dialects, perhaps through ē and ā.

A secondary ə in Slovene appears as a vocalized, weak *ъ or *ь, e.g., dəhníti, gəníti, kədáj, čəbẹ́la, təmən, dəska, məgla; or in combination with a word-final sonorant, e.g., mislь > misḷ > mísəl, ognь > ogń̥ > ógənj.

the shortened word-final acute by origin, as in gen. sg. **konja̍*, **kljūča̍*, **krālja̍*, was by then intonationally neutral. At that time early Slovene also knew long vowels in unaccented positions as well, for example in **kljūča̍*, **grādû*, **zlātȏ*, **dȇlāš*, **bêlī*.

It is from this state that the representative Slovene prosodic systems, with its characteristic interdependence between quantity, tone and stress, developed between 1000–1500 A.D. A target structure of this evolution can be looked for in the prosodic system of the dialects which retained tone till today. The prosodic system of these dialects, as it will be shown later, is based on pitch (rising vs. falling in long syllables) and quantity (long vs. short). Stress, on the other hand, is not distinctive in this system; redundant in long syllables, it becomes configurational if there is a long syllable in a word. The evolution of this system, however, was neither uniform nor synchronous for the entire speech area of Slovene. In the central dialects it followed a development whose main stages can be summarized as follows:

(1) Shortening of the unstressed long syllables in all but pretonic position, e.g., gen. sg. **lîpē > lîpe*, 2 sg. pres. **dȇlāš > dệlaš*, masc. sg. def. adj. **bêlī > bêli*; however, gen. sg. **grādû*, **kljūčá*, nom. sg. **dūša̍*, **zvēzda̍*. Consistent though not absolute, the loss of unstressed quantity strengthened the opposition of long-stressed versus short-unstressed syllables in the system still further, and ultimately restricted quantitative oppositions in the language to stressed syllables (before the twelfth century).

(2) Retraction of the word-final accent to the pretonic length of the type **dūša̍ > dúša*, **zvēzda̍ > zvézda*, gen. sg. **kljūča̍ kljúča*, **krālja̍ > králja*. The new long rising accent merged with the neoacute of the type *stráža*, *králj*. Again consistent though not absolute (e.g., CS **pęta̍*, **rǫka̍* which changed to Sle. *péta*, *róka* only much later), this retraction is still universal in Slovene; it is the first in a sequence of retractions activated by the tendency to relieve the final syllable from the stress. Fran Ramovš dates this retraction back to the twelfth century.[4]

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[4] Ramovš 1950, 20.

(3) Lengthening of the nonfinal stressed accents, e.g., **bràt*, gen. sg. **bràta > bràt bráta*, nom. sg. *lȅto > lẹ́to*, nom. sg. **vòl'a > vọ́lja*, 2 sg. pres. **nòsiš > nọ́siš*, **mèčeš > mẹ́češ*, **vzə̀meš > vzámeš*. This innovation already appeared in Slovene as dialectal; it affected the western and central dialects (the central dialects by the end of the fourteenth century) before it reached into the East Styria-Carinthia-Rezija belt of the northern dialects. It has been recently suggested that here not all non-final syllables underwent this change; it seems to have been limited to the penultimate position. Moreover, the lengthening never reached some peripheral zones of Slovene, viz. part of the Pannonian dialectal base, Prekmurje and Prlekija, and part of Bela Krajina.[5]

The lengthening of all internal accents solidified the new long rising pitch in Slovene still further and helped to establish the dominance of quantity in the evolution of its vowel system. From this time onward, the position of the accent in a word determined the quantity of the stressed vowel and the evolution of its quality in the system. The reflexes of vowels in the new lengthened internal syllables of the type *lȅto*, *vòl'a*, which in individual dialects may differ from the reflexes of the old long accented vowels of the type *lȇta* (nom. pl.), *bôg*, as well as the general Slovene qualitative change ə̄ > *ā*, clearly indicate a relative chronology of this change (e.g., Rož in Carinthia: *lẹ́to* vs. *liȇta*, *vọ́l'a* vs. *bûəg*; or Raščica in Lower Carinthia: *vúọla* vs. *bûg*; and general Slovene: **vzə̀meš > vzámeš*.

(4) Retraction of word-final accent to the originally short preceding vowel of the type **ženà > žèna*, **gorà > gòra*, **zelèn > zèlen*, **bogàt > bògat*, or to the originally reduced vowel of the type *məglà > mə̀gla*, *təmə̀n > tə̀mən*, and its subsequent lengthening in both types to *žéna*, *góra*, *zélen*, *bógat*, *mə́gla* and *mȇgla*, *tə́mən* and *tȇmen*. In the Central dialects, this so-called "secondary" retraction of the final accent of the *žena* type, took place in the 15th century. It must have been preceded by the change of the final short rising accent to a short falling stress, e.g., *bràt > brȁt*, *kònj > kȍnj*, *ženà > ženȁ*, *zelèn > zelȅn*, *məglà > məglȁ*, and *təmə̀n > təmə̏n*, which represents the only short accent in Slovene prosody today. In our notation this accent appears as /ˋ/.

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[5] Rigler 1977, 83-99.

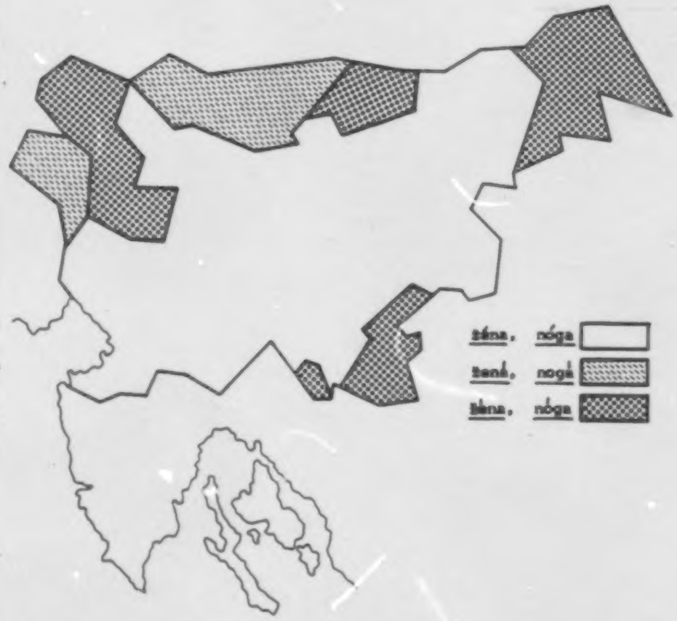

Figure 11. SECONDARY RETRACTION OF THE ACCENT IN SLOVENE

The secondary retraction of the word-final accent to a preceding, originally short vowel, of the type žena, noga, zelen, bogat, is known to a great majority of Slovene dialects. The vowel under the retracted accent (rising) is long and open. The CSS reflects this situation and has, e.g., žéna, séstra, zémlja, zéja, métla; čélo, rébro, sédlo; vréteno, pléče, pléme, téle; jélen, jézik, jéčmen; méne, tébe, sébe (gen. sg.), méni, tébi, sébi (dat. sg.); nésti, plésti, péči, téči, réči (inf.); nésem, plétem, péčem, téčem, réčem (1st sg. pres. t.); nóga, góra, vóda, kóza, kósa; lepóta; ókno; človek, pótok, lónec, ógenj, órel; nósil, prósil, góril, hótel (-l part. masc. sg.); nósit, prósit (supine); and nósi, prósi (imper.).

The secondary retraction did not take place in the Rezija and Venetian Slovene dialects and the dialect of Rož in Carinthia, where one finds, e.g., žanà, nohà (Rezija, Ter), žanà, naγà, jezìk (Kobarid); žanà, vodà (Rož).

Some dialects adjoining the areas which preserved the oxytonal accent have a retracted but short accent, viz. žè^{a}na, gò^{a}ra (Zilja); žèna, hòra (Podjuna); žèna, nòγa (Tolmin, Cerkno). The same situation characterizes the East Styrian dialectal base and some peripheral dialects of Bela Krajina, viz. žèna, vòda (Prekmurje), žèna, nòga, vòda (Bela Krajina).

The retraction of the accent in the type zelen, bogat follows, in the main, the distribution of the žena, noga retraction. The dialects with žéna, nóga as well as CSS possess, however, systematic doublets of the type zélen and zelèn, bógat and bogàt.

The retraction of the word-final accent to originally short and reduced vowels in Slovene is complex, differing by types, in time of occurrence, and in geographic extent. It is essentially dialectal. The retraction presumably occurred earlier and was more general when the stress shifted from a final open syllable of the type *žena*, *gora*, and again presumably more restricted and later when it was retracted from the final closed syllable (of the type *zelen*, *bogat*). Still later and still more restricted was the retraction of stress to an originally reduced vowel (of the type *məgla*, *təmən*). Dialectally, the *ženȁ* > *žêna* evolution, with retraction and lengthening, is known today to more than 80 percent of Slovene dialects, while *žȅna*, *gȍra* without lengthening, and *ženà*, *gorà* with the final stress preserved, are structurally marginal and dialectally peripheral (see Figure 11). The distribution of the *məglȁ̇*, *mə̀gla*, *mə̀̇gla*, *mêgla* stages, on the other hand, differs strikingly from this picture; while the Central dialects preserved *məglȁ*, *təmə̏n*, the Western and Eastern ones have the retracted patterns (see Figure 19).

Phonemic innovations. The evolution of the Slovene sound pattern before the sixteenth century was characterized by further changes in the repertory of phonemes, the consolidation of structural relations which simplified the late Common Slavic system, as well as by the emergence of a new phonemic system and a constitution of a drift of its own to take over its phonetic-morphological evolution in the centuries to come.

The early Slovene *vowel phonemes* of the time of the *Freising Fragments* were perhaps as follows: /*i* ə *e a o u*, ǫ ∿ open ǫ, ę ∿ open ę, ě/ plus syllabic /ṛ ḷ/. All these phonemes, including /ə/ < /ь, ъ/, could be accented or unaccented, though this is not clear from the *Freising Fragments*. All, except /ə/ must still have had the old inherent quantitative correlation, which means that there were still unstressed long vowels in the system. By the end of the tenth century both reduced vowels already merged into /ə/, and /*y*/ with /*i*/. The old /ě/ very probably already lost its palatal on-glide, while both nasal vowels were still in the process of denasalization. The evolution of the nasals /ę, ǫ/ and /ě/, even if such an evolution were monogenetic in the Slovene speech area, may have carried with it some embryonic differences.

The prosodic changes that occurred in the subsequent centuries of this period had a profound influence on the development of this early vowel system. The evolution of individual vowels and their place in the system will ultimately be conditioned by several factors: the position of the accent will determine the quantity of the stressed vowel in a word and the quantity of the accented syllable will, in turn, affect the quality of its vowel. Thus, vowel quantity will begin to control vowel quality in Slovene; the longer a vowel will be markedly long, the more it will be exposed to change in its quality and position in the system.

The geographical distribution of the Common Slavic vowel reflexes, whose change and systematization belong to this period, clearly points to some of the ancient isoglosses in the Eastern Alpine speech area. They seem to indicate that the earliest dialectalization of Slovene is related to the evolution of /ě/, both nasal vowels /ę, ǫ/, and to the subsequent phonological rearrangement of the original Alpine Slavic vowel system. The oldest such division is suggested by the isogloss which today divides two types of reflexes for old long /ě̄/ in Slovene dialects (in general, *e* and its diphthongs of a closed variety in the northwest as compared to an *e* and its diphthongs of an open variety in the southeast).[6] This division has recently been correlated with the isogloss of reflexes for old nasal vowels in Slovene dialects today (their open reflexes in the northwest and the preservation of nasality in one of its dialects, the dialect of Podjuna, would indicate that here the nasality presumably continued longer).[7] The bundle of these two isoglosses seems to represent the oldest division of the Slovene speech territory into two dialectal bases: a northwestern (the Carinthian and Littoral dialects) and a southeastern (the Carniolan, Styrian and Pannonian dialects,

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[6] In Ramovš 1936, 187, the Upper Carniolan /ę̄/ reflex for old long *ě* is considered part of an evolution which is shared by the northwestern dialects. Logar 1958/59 and 1960/61 indicated the possibility that the Upper Carniolan long vowels (monophthongs), including *ę* from old long *ě*, represent a later secondary monophthongization of diphthongs (*ei̯* vs. *i̯e*) of two different structures at contact.

[7] Rigler 1963, 31.

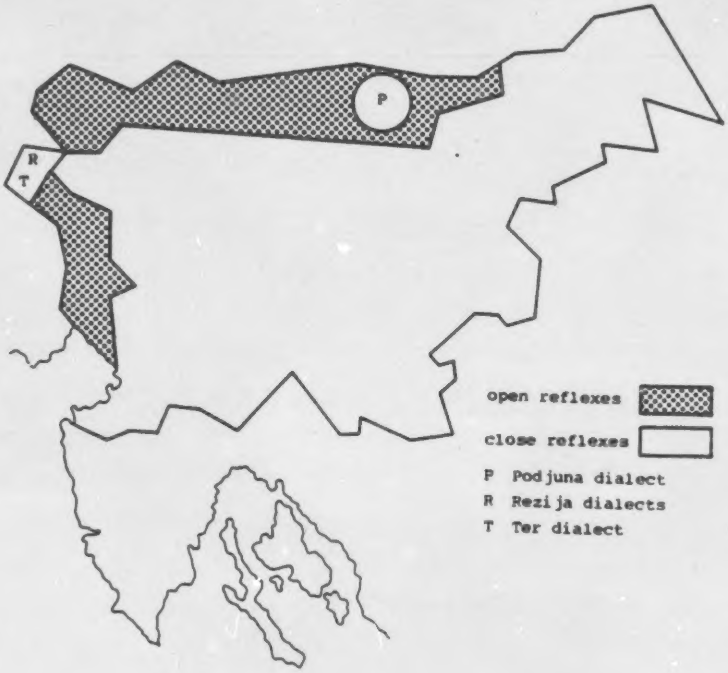


Figure 12. NASAL VOWELS IN LONG SYLLABLES IN SLOVENE

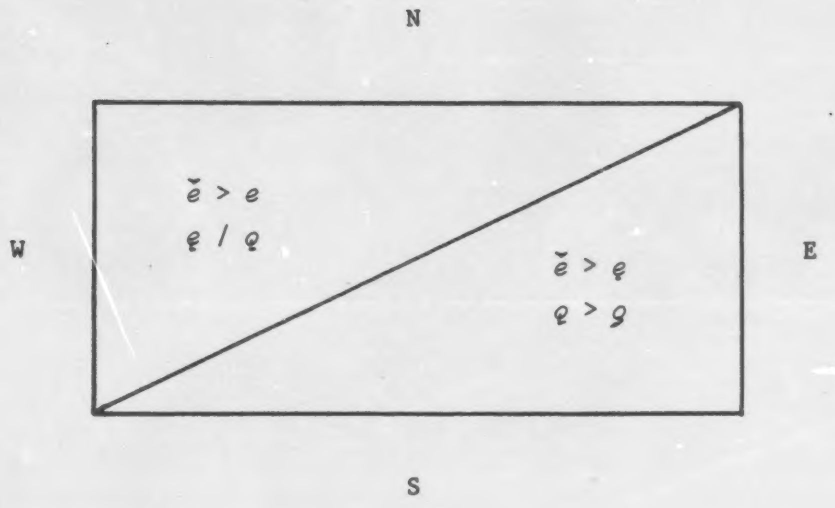
In Slovene the CS **ę* and **ǫ* are represented by *e* and *o* and their reflexes; the former typifies a common South Slavic evolution, the latter was shared with the Kajkavian and NW Čakavian dialects.

The CSS reflexes of the long nasals are *ẹ* and *ọ*, the same as in the Upper Carniola dialect; e.g., *pę̂t*, *ję́za*, *srę́ča*, *pǫ́t*, *zǫ̂b*, *golǫb*, *gǫ̂s*. Their Lower Carniola correspondences are diphtongal *ie*, *uo*, e.g., *piet*, *púot*.

In general, the Slovene dialectal reflexes of CS nasal vowels are twofold: open vs. close *e* and *o*, which has been interpreted to indicate two different stages in the evolution of CS nasals in the Eastern Alps. The westernmost and northwestern dialects have open reflexes and one of them, Podjuna in Carinthia, has even preserved nasality. Elsewhere in Slovene and everywhere else in the continuum, the reflexes are relatively closer which may indicate that the process of denasalization must have progressed into the Eastern Alpine area from the South and East. On the other hand, an important isogloss in this continuum, dividing zones with the reflex of the back nasal **ǫ* as "generally more open than *u* *versus* *u*," separates Slovene, Kajkavian, and NW Čakavian dialects from the rest of continuum.

E.g., for the NW and W Slovene dialects *pę̂t*, *ję́za*, *srę́ča*, *ję́zik*, *pǫ́t*, *zǫp*, *mǫ́ka*, *ǫ́zək* (Podjuna); *pét*, *sréča*, *pǫ́t*, *zop* (Nadiža); *jętre*, *jęzik*, *zǫ́p* (Brda); *žaja*, *jâza*, *jatre* (Western Kras); for the SE and E Slovene dialects *pùot*, *zùop* (Kras, Notranjsko), *púot*, *zûop* (Lower Carniola); vs. Eastern Čakavian and Štokavian *pût*, *zûb*.

The oldest attested substitutions of the Alpine Slavic nasals date from the tenth century and point to open qualities of initial reflexes. E.g. Germ. *Knesaha* (891 A.D.) for Sle. **knęža*; Germ. *Zirne* (954 A.D.) for **Čьrne*; Germ. *Motnitz* (1043 A.D.) for **mǫtьnikъ*; Germ. *Zwantendorf* (980 A.D.) for **svętьna vьsь*; Germ. *Zwakach* (1168 A.D.), *Zwenkach* (1238) from **svęt'axъ* (loc. pl.); Germ. *Lading*, *Laedin* (1245 A.D.) for Sle. **lędina*. In the *Freising Fragments*, *ǫ* is substituted by *u* (46 times) and *o* (31 times); *on* and *un* appear only twice; *ę* by *e*, one time by *en*, and three times by *a*. This may indicate that the *Freising Fragments* still knew nasal vowels.



with a boundary, running, as it were, along the Julian Alps and the Karavanke mountain range. If denasalization in the Slovene speech area is understood as a slow and gradual evolution (the notation of the nasal vowels in the *Freising Fragments* reflects this process), the nasal vowels must have existed in the Eastern Alps up to the end of the eleventh century. By the twelfth century, then, the vowel systems of these two dialectal bases could be represented by the following diagrams:

NORTHWEST

	i		*u*	
		ə		
	e		*o*	
ę	*ě*			*ǫ*
		a		

SOUTHEAST

i		*u*
ě	ə	
e		*o*
ẹ		*ọ*
	a	

Thus, */e o a u ě ę ǫ/* continue the old vowels, and /*i*/ < *i*, *y*, /ə/ < ь, ъ, /*ẹ*/ < /*ę*/, and /*ọ*/ < *ǫ* represent new developments. It is interesting that in this early division, both Central dialects on which the contemporary standard Slovene is based were part of the southeastern dialectal base.

One of the first characteristically Slovene features in the evolution of these two systems appears to have been the structural pairing of the long /*ě*/ and the long /*ō*/ in both systems, a development unknown in

Serbocroatian. The reflexes of these two vowels (long */ō/* represents the etymological */o/*) lengthened either in the new closed syllables or in the specific Slovene evolutions); they followed in Slovene parallel, though opposite directions in a development which again was specifically Slovene in the South Slavic continuum. This development clearly points to the later evolutionary interdependence between vowel quantity and vowel quality in the Slovene vowel system. Accented vowels in this system were becoming long and tense and eventually diphthongized, while the unaccented vowels short and lax and later reduced. As it has been shown earlier, quantity governed this development; hence, the early division of the Slovene vowel system into sybsystems of both long and short vowels.

Thus, these long */ě/* and */ō/* of the oldest dialectal bases, contingent on their position in the original systems, became narrow, tense, and diphthongized in two different directions: */ẹ̄/* to */ei̯/* and */ọ̄/* to */ou̯/* in the southeast dialects (Notranjsko, Lower Carniola, Styria and Prekmurje), and */ẹ̄/* to */ie/* and */ọ̄/* to */uo/* in the northwestern ones (Carinthia, Rezija, Venetian Slovenia, Upper Soča, and Kras). Contrarily, the unstressed short vowels in these same bases were shortened even further; they became open, lax, liable to assimilations, and they ultimately disappeared. Hence, the old **sněgъ* and **nočь* became *snei̯g* and *nowč* in the southeast, and *snieg* and *nuoč* in the northwest;[8] and the etymological **bogatьstvo*, **děvica*, **tvojěga* became in Lower and Upper Carniola dialects *bogastvu*, *divica*, *tvojga*. The oldest written evidence of these changes in Slovene dates before the fifteenth century: the first attested case of an *ō* change toward *u* is recorded in Carinthia in 1227 (e.g., *buga* for *bogâ*), the *ē̌* > *ej* substitution in the *MSS of Stična* of Lower Carniola in 1428 (e.g., *deylam* for *dělam*), and the vowel reduction process in the Upper Carniolan *MS of Rateče* of 1362-92 (e.g., *bogaſstwu* for *bogastvo*, *divittcze* for *device*, *twoyga* for *tvojega*).

The very next innovation in the vowel system, the change of /ə/ in the new long syllables, e.g., in the Central dialects *dân* < *də̄n* as compared to Styrian-Carinthian *dên* (the Upper Carniolan *MS of Rateče* already

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[8] The CSS *snệg* and *nộč* represent, of course, the Upper Carniolan monophthongs which might have evolved in dialects at the point of contact of dialectal bases displaying diphthongs with opposite evolutional tendencies (*ei̯* vs. *ie*, *ou̯* vs. *uo*). Cf. Logar 1960/61, 120-121. Cf. also note 6 in this Chapter.

Figure 13. THE EVOLUTION OF CS LONG *ě IN SLOVENE

The oldest substitutions in Slovene and German indicate that the phonetic value of CS *ě in the earliest Slavic dialects in the Eastern Alps was iä; e.g., Sle. podrěka (cf. Podreče, a Slovene place name) from Vulgar Lat. *padriárka; Germ. Pielach, Bielaha (811 A.D.), Velah (1441 A.D.) from Sle. *běla; Germ. Friesach (860 A.D.) from Common Slavic *brěžaxъ (loc. pl. of *brěžane); Sle. *špěgьlъ, Upper Carniola špégu, Lower Carniola špéigu from Germ. spiagal, spegal.

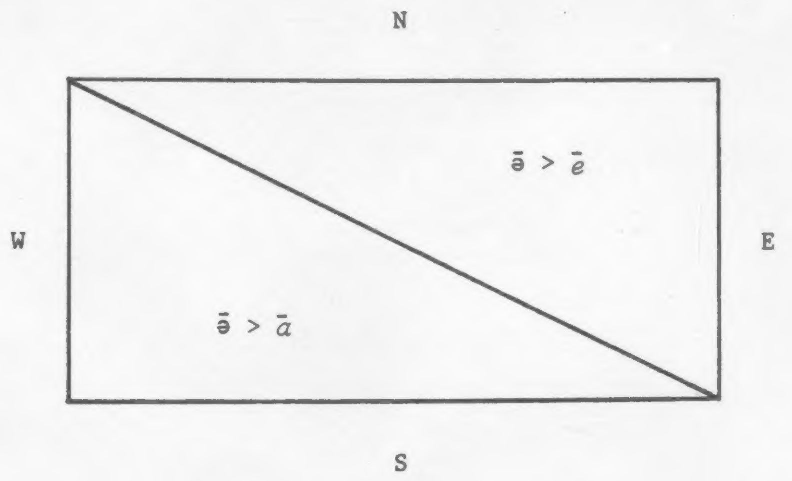
The subsequent evolution of ě is linked with the development of CS nasals in the Eastern Alpine dialects. Very early (ab. 1000 A.D.) in their southeastern part, as in the entire western South Slavic speech area where presumably the denasalization was earlier, a narrowing of ě took place; the phonetic value of long ě̄ in these dialects must have been a narrow ẹ̄.

In the northwestern part of the Eastern Alpine dialects (west of the Julian Alps and north of the Karavanke) where the nasal vowels persisted longer, ě presumably retained its initial open value iä for a longer period; the phonetic value of long ě̄ in these dialects must have been an open ę̄.

The isogloss of these two early reflexes coincides, in the main, with that of the nasal reflexes and represents, as it were, the earliest isogloss of the Slovene vowel system in the Eastern Alpine Slavic speech area. All later reflexes of ě can be derived from these two initial values: the NW dialectal ẹ, iẹ, ie, i from an ẹ̄ (e.g., lẹ́to in Carinthia, Upper Carniola and NW Littoral dialects) and the SE dialectal ei, äi, ä, ai from an ę̄ (e.g., léitu in Lower Carniola and léito in Styria).

The CSS has ẹ̄ for long ě, which represents the reflex of the Upper Carniola dialect; e.g., lẹ́to, dẹ́lo, dẹ́te, sẹ́me.

has *a* for ə, e.g., *dannaſs* for **dьnьsь*), introduces a new dialectal division which now begins to dominate the evolution of the vowel system. The present-day isogloss ə̄ > *ā* vs. *ē* (*də̄n* > *dan* in opposition to *den*),



which geographically runs almost perpendicularly to the *ě*/*o* isogloss, realigned the existing dialects into a new configuration; a group of southwestern dialects (Carniola and Littoral) is now opposed to a group of northeastern dialects (Carinthia, Styria, Prekmurje). It is this new configuration which will dominate the evolution of Slovene henceforth.

The subsequent reorganization of phonological oppositions and the restructuring of evolutionary trends once again contributed to an intensified shattering of the Slovene speech territory. By the end of the fourteenth century, Slovene had no less than eight dialectal bases with two basic vowel systems in each: a system of long and a system of short vowels. It was just then, however, that a new wave of further dialectal differentiation started.

By far more modest than the changes in the Slovene vowel system seems to be the innovations in the inventory of *consonantal sounds*. A number of developments during this period simply consolidated, advanced, or continued the earlier changes (e.g., *tl*, *dl* > *l*, *t'* > *ĉ* > *č*, *r'* > *r*/*rj*), while most of the new evolutions very often remained marginal, territorially limited and even isolated.

By the end of the tenth century Middle Slovene seems to have had the following consonantal phonemes:

/ p-b	*t-d*			*k-g*
	c	*ć*	*č*	
v	*s-z*		*š-ž*	*x-(γ)*
m	*n*	*n'*		
	l	*l'*	*j*	
	r	*r' /.*		

/p b, t d, k g/ were occlusives, */v, s z, š ž, x/* fricatives, */c, ć č/* affricates, and */m, n l r, n' l' r', j/* sonorants. The new evolutions taking place in the system concerned labial */v/* and its voiceless pair */f/*, palatal */j/*, the progressive transformation of the palatalized dental consonants */ć, n' l' r'/* and their clusters * śt' źd'*, and the dialectal *g* > γ > *h* evolution. In addition, more or less all-Slovene as well were a number of developments concerning sound changes triggered by the loss of weak *jers* during the period before 1000 A.D.

As we know, the hardening of the palatalized dental */ć/* to */č/* represented a typically Slovene change shared with the Kajkavian region of the continuum, except for its SW area. The process, which had been progressing for several centuries across the Slovene speech territory, presumably left its westernmost regions untouched; there a *ć/č* isogloss links Slovene dialects with the Čakavian enclaves in Istria.

The evolution of the *śt' śk', źd' źg'* clusters from CS **sti̯ *ski̯, *zdi̯ *zgi̯* followed initially the modifications of the palatalized dentals *t'* and *d'*. The first stages of the parallel evolution of *śt'* > *ść* > *šč* and *źd'* > *źdź* > *ždž* are still preserved in the Prekmurje, Eastern Styria dialects, e.g., *klêšče, dêždž*, gen. sg. *deždžâ*; and in Rezija, e.g., *možd'ane* (CSS *možgani*, elsewhere in dialects *možjani*).[9] In non-peripheral dialects, this evolution was not always parallel; the isoglosses of the *šč* > *š* and *žǯ* > *ž* simplification do not tend to coincide in Slovene (however, in the dialect of Rož in Carinthia: *qlîəši, dîž, dîža*). While the reflex *ž* (e.g., *ježa* < **jezdi̯a*) is shared by all dialects outside of Eastern Styria and Prekmurje, the *šč* > *š* isogloss divides even the Central dialects today; e.g., Lower Carniola *tašča* vs. Upper Carniola *taša* < **tъsti̯a, gošča* vs. *goša* < **gǫsti̯a*. How old the

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[9] Rigler 1976, 455.

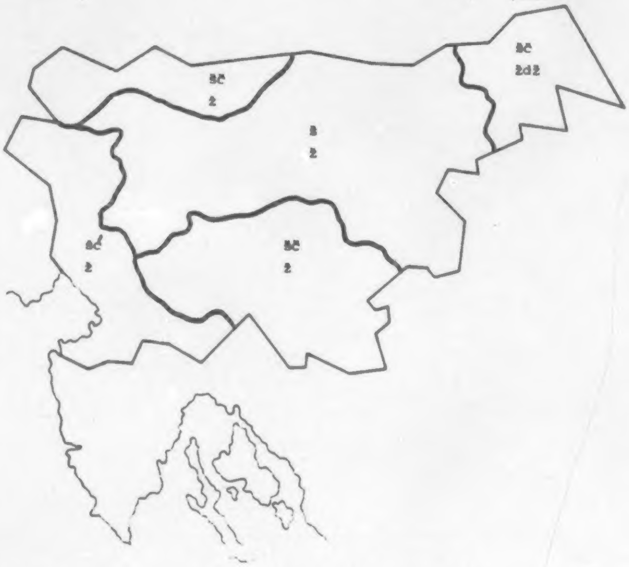

Figure 14. THE COMMON SLAVIC *sti̯, *ski̯, *zdi̯, *zgi̯ IN SLOVENE

Only primary Common Slavic *sti̯, *ski̯, *zdi̯, *zgi̯ clusters change in Slovene. The *sti̯, *ski̯ gave šč and šć, the *zdi̯, *zgi̯ gave ž. In CSS gošča < *gosti̯a, tašča < *tasti̯a, tolšča < *tъlsti̯a, plošča < *ploski̯a, ježa < *jezdi̯a, drožа < *drozgi̯a, however možgani < *mozgěno.

The dialects with t' > ć (the Western dialects including Rezija, Venetian Slovenia, partially Upper Soča, Kras, SE Notranjsko), have šć for *sti̯, *ski̯; e.g., gošća, tašća,tušća, kršćen (CSS krščen), pušćat (CSS puščati), šćinkovc (CSS ščinkovec). In Upper Carniola, Rovte, East Carinthia and all Styria except its easternmost part, šč changes to š. E.g., goša, towša, kršen, pušat, šinkovc. In the older Slovene texts šč and š alternate; the writers of Lower Carniola consistently used šč, those of Upper Carniola used š.

Dialectal reflexes for *zdi̯, *zgi̯ are two: ždž /žǯ/ in Prekmurje and Eastern Styria, e.g. droždže < *drozgi̯a, draždžiti, deždža (gen. sg. of dešč, CSS dež), moždžani; and ž elsewhere, including Contemporary Standard Slovene, e.g., drožа, dražiti, deža, brežati brežim < *brezgēti. A žj reflex appears in dežja (Kras, Poljane, Rož) and in možjane (in some western dialects of Eastern Styria).

simplification *šč* > *š* may be we simply do not know. The Lower Carniolan Protestant writers consistently wrote *šč*, the Upper Carniolan writers only *š*, and today's dialectal distribution corresponds to this usage: Upper Carniola, Rovte, Upper Kras, Podjuna in Carinthia have *š*; in the other dialects, including CSS, *šč* is used. The dialects with *t'* > *ć* have the reflex *šć* for *śt'*, *śk'*, e.g., *tašća*, *gošća*.

The phoneme */v/*, which was still a bilabial *w* in Alpine Slavic during this period, changed into labio-dental */v/* in some positions in some dialects. In most of the Slovene speech territory this change took place in all positions except before a pause or consonant; there *v* remained bilabial *w* (*u̯*) which is phonemically an allophone of */v/*, e.g., *vẹra*, *vȋno*, *vȋdeti*, *vóda*, *glȃva*, *nov /now/*, *ȏvca /ȏwca/*. This situation governs the CSS pronunciation. In a narrower area within a group of western dialects of Upper Carniola, Carinthia, Goriško, the bilabial *w* is used preceding back vowels as well (e.g., for Upper Carniola */wóda/*, */now/*, */ȏwca/*); and in some dialects within Carinthia and Rovte this usage extends also to the position before front vowels (e.g., for Črni vrh *wȋəra*, *wȋn*, *wȋdət*). Only along the eastern periphery of the Slovene speech area (Bela Krajina, Eastern Styria, Prekmurje) is *w* consistently changed into a voiced labio-dental fricative */v/* and became paired with */f/* (e.g., *glava*, *nov /nof/*, *ovca /ofca/*), an evolution which must have taken place before the positional neutralization of voice in these dialects. The voiceless labio-dental fricative */f/*, which had been known earlier only as an onomatopoetic sound (e.g., *frfrati, fefljati*) and substituted by other sounds in borrowings (e.g., *pogáča* [1485] from ML *focatia*; *blȃška*, later *flȃška* from MHG *flaska*; *bažow*, later *fažow* from MHG *fasȏl*), now became part of the system of Slovene consonants.

Similarly, the old nonsyllabic *i̯* in Slovene had, to a certain degree, a parallel evolution. In its early phase, Alpine Slavic could have had *i̯* only in the word- and syllable-initial position before vowels. The new *j* < **d'*, as in Sle.-Kajk.-Čak. *Jurij* < ML *Georgius* (e.g., Sle. *Juri* [1170], Čak. *Juray* [1086]), and *meja* < **med'ja*, must have had the same phonetic value. Later evolution of this sound in the dialects may suggest that it probably never functioned as a full-fledged voiced palatal spirant */j/*. In the Central dialects and Contemporary Standard Slovene, the spirant *j* appears word-initially and in intervocalic position; elsewhere it becomes *i̯*; e.g., *jama*, *jezero*, *jajce* [*jai̯ce*], *meja* [*meja* and *mei̯a*], however, *kraj* [*krai̯*]. On the other hand, most of the other dialects do not have *j* at all and their /*i̯*/ tends to assimilate and disappear; e.g., *izaro* < *jezero* (Carinthia), *icè* < *jajce* (Lower Carniola), *mœa* < *meja* (Rezija). A real voiced palatal spirant /*j*/ < /*i̯*/ developed only in the dialects along the eastern periphery of the Slovene speech territory (East Styria, Prekmurje); in Prekmurje, it even intensified to a prepalatal occlusive *d'* in some positions, e.g., *d'ȁma* < *jama*, *d'àicä* < *jajce*.

It is reasonable to assume that the Slovene speech area was divided by a *g* : γ isogloss early in this period. For centuries this isogloss must have linked the western Slovene dialects with the Čakavian territory; how far it extended in the direction of east and north in the Eastern Alps, however, we do not know. Today, the *g* > γ feature characterizes the dialects of Notranjsko, Kras, Goriško, Rovte, Upper Soča and Venetian Slovenia; in Rezija and northwestern Rož in Carinthia one finds a *g* > γ > *h* > # change; in most Carinthian dialects except Zilja (therefore in a zone, geographically separated from the west Slovene area), a *g* > γ > *h* change as well. E.g., for CSS *noga*, *grah*, *prag praga*, *bogat*, we find in Horjulj *nwȁγa*, *γrȁx*, *prȁγ práγa*, *bwȁγat*; in Kras *nǫ̑γa*, *γràx*, *pràx prȃγa*, *bȏγat*; in Rezija *nòa*, *ȍra* (CSS *gora*), *ràh* and *rȁ*, *boȁt* and *bât*, *drúzaa* (CSS *drugega*).

It stands to reason that before the neutralization in voicing of consonants took place in Slovene (see below), the assumed *g* > γ change in these dialects must have been automatic, uniform, and phonemically nondistinctive. After the neutralization of velar fricatives, the voiced γ was structurally correlated with the voiceless *x*, while the voiced velar stop *g* became paired with the voiceless *k*. In the absence of reliable documentation of these changes — the oldest record of *g* > γ change appears relatively late in the texts (e.g., *hreh* for γ*rex*, attested in 1691[10]) — this argument is the only one we possess to support the proposition that the *g* > γ change must have preceded the positional neutralization of voice in *g* > γ dialects (see Figure 16).

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[10] For the dialect of Notranjsko, in Janez Svetokriški's *Sacrum promptuarium*, I (1691).

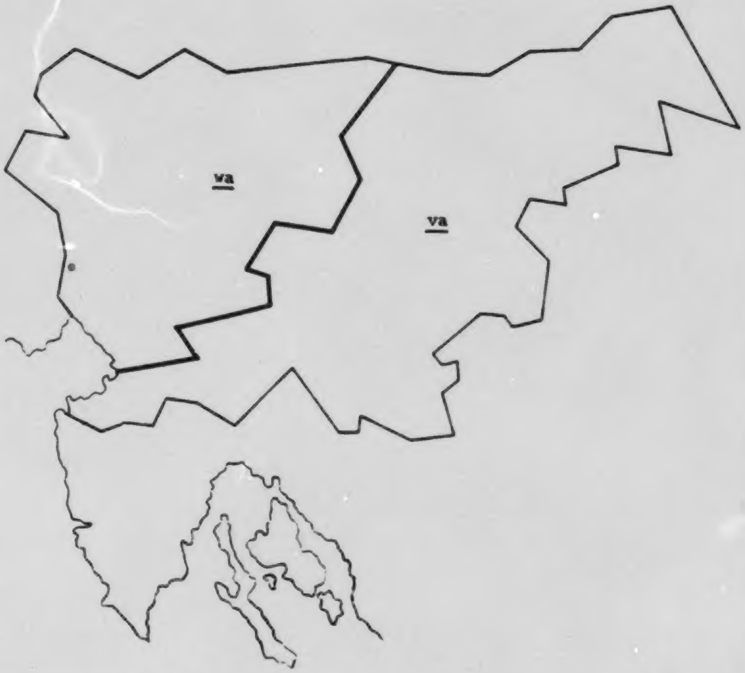

Figure 15. THE COMMON SLAVIC *w IN SLOVENE

For Common Slavic *w, Contemporary Standard Slovene has a labiodental fricative v, which alternates with bilabial w; the former occurs before all vowels, the latter before a consonant or in a syllable-final position. E.g., videti, vino, vera; voda, vas, krava, devava (1st dual of devati), vol; siv /sȋw/, zdrav /zdrȃw/, ovca /ǫ̑wca/, povsod /powsǫ̑t/. This feature of CSS is based on the positional distribution of v and w in the dialect of Lower Carniola.

Most Slovene western dialects -- Carinthia, Upper Carniola, Rovte, Littoral (including Rezija), and a part of the Notranjsko dialect -- have a billabial w also before back vowels (wa vs. va isogloss). E.g., for Upper Carniola vodȁ, wȃs, krȃwa, gwȃwa, dẹwava, wȏw, zdrȁw, however vídet, vín, vẹra. Some dialects of Carinthia and Rovte have billabial w before front vowels also, e.g., Črni vrh (Rovte) wȋdet, wȋn, wȋera; in South Notranjsko, however, vȏda, vȃs, krȃva, vrȃta; vȏwk (CSS volk), zdrȃw and zdrȏw.

The dialects east of the wa vs. va isogloss have labiodental v before all vowels, as in CSS. A larger part of them, viz. all the Styria (except Dravinja) and Bela Krajina dialects have a labiodental v also before a consonant. Here v is treated as an obstruent in alternation with f. E.g. krȃva vs. krȃf, sȋf, zdrȃf, ófca.

In some Carinthian and Western dialects, in particular the Upper Soča group, v before front vowels changed to s spirantized ƀ. E.g., Zilja (Carinthia) ƀidete, ƀera, ƀliko (CSS veliko).

The positional neutralization in voicing of consonants, therefore, also belongs to this period. The neutralization regulated the voiced-voiceless correlation of consonants which became exposed to the influence of a pause or of a following consonant (except sonorants) at morpheme- and word-boundaries after the loss of *jers*. Such voicing assimilation in Slovene was only regressive. The variety of its features in Slovene dialects today suggests that it did not represent a harmonious or monolithic evolution. In the dialects on which CSS is based it went through the following changes (e.g., for Lower Carniola):

	LABIALS	LABIO-DENTALS	DENTALS	PALATALS	VELARS
OCCLUSIVES	p b		t d	c č	k g
SPIRANTS		f	s z	š ž	x

In CSS the neutralization in voicing affects the *b* - *p*, *d* - *t*, *g* - *k*, (*ʒ*) - *c*, *z* - *s*, (*ǯ*) - *č*, *ž* - *š* pairs. In some dialects the *v* - *f*, γ - *x*, and *g* - *x* pairs are affected also, but in some others no neutralization in voice takes place (see Figure 18). E.g., for CSS *brada*, gen. sg. *brad /brat/*; *sladək*, fem. sg. *sladka /slatka/*; *svat* vs. *svatba /svadba/*; *grozd /grost/*, in Eastern Styria dialects also *nov /nof/*, fem. sg. *nova*; *ovca /ofca/*, *vse /fse/*.

The situation of the word-final */-g/* represents an additional comlication in the system of voice-neutralization. A surface comparison of the reflexes given in Figure 17 would suggest that the Slovene neutralization in voice probably has not taken place immediately after the loss of *jers*, but only after the *g* > γ change in an area which might have been broader than the area in which *g* > γ occurs today. Such a development (*g* > γ > *x*) would then account for the *g* > *x* change in some Central dialects which might not have participated in the spirantization of the final voiced stops. A firm relative chronology for the *g* > γ, as well as for the */-g/* > */-x/* evolution, has not yet been established.

The evolution of grammatical categories, forms and their relations during the Middle Slovene period created the *morphological system* of modern Slovene, as it was later introduced in the literary language.

While some manifestations of this evolution appeared already in the *Freising Fragments*, a well-rounded structural profile of the new language began to unfold only after the major sound changes simplified its phonological system. Although the scarcity of documentation for the centuries before 1500 does not allow the detailed tracing of this evolution, the main changes which have occurred in Slovene can be clearly followed in the available texts which illustrate the development of the language in the Central dialects. It is namely these Central dialects which were innovative and progressive in the evolution of Slovene and the peripheral dialects antiquated, with a clear tendency to preserve archaisms and relics in their structures. The main innovations of the Middle Slovene period, forming — as it were — the backbone of the new system, can be summarized as follows:

In substantives, the category of vocative disappeared and the dual was strongly weakened in the dialects. The inflectional classes based on the old Indo-European stem structure (*o*-, *ĭ*-, *ŭ*-, and *C*- stems in masculine; *a*-, *ĭ*-, *ū*-, and *C*- stems in feminine; *o*- and *C*- stems in neuter gender substantives) and the Common Slavic declensional opposition of hard and soft pattern in the *o*- and *a*- stems, were, as everywhere in the Slavic languages, simplified to new formal classes based on gender. Thus, the premises of a new classification of substantival declension was in the making already before the sixteenth century. The new target structure had three classes, with masculine and neuter substantives forming one, the bulk of the *a*- stem feminine gender substantives another one, and all feminine gender substantives with their genitive singular ending in -*i* a third class.[11]

In the competition between the hard and soft variety of the old *o*- and *a*- stems, the soft endings were usually generalized, e.g., -*e* instead of -*i* in the gen. sg. feminine (for instance, in the *MSS of Stična*, *dewicze* [V 2] for CSS *d*[illegible]*vice*), and acc. pl. masculine substantives (for instance, *MSS of Stična*, *greyche* [I 64] for CSS *grehe*). In the gen. pl. masculine gender substantives the ending -*ov* ∿ -*ev*, which had been introduced already in the *Freising Fragments*, became generalized (e.g., CSS

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[11] Cf. footnote 12, Chapter Two.

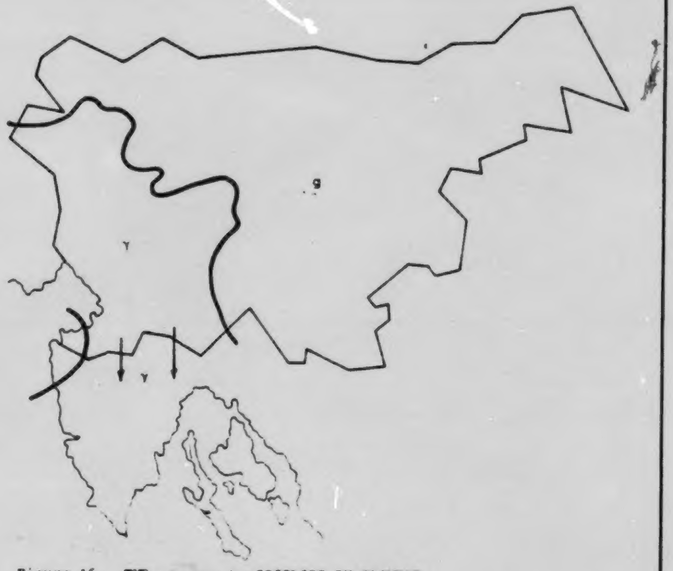

Figure 15. THE g vs. γ ISOGLOSS IN SLOVENE

In the Western dialects of the Slovene speech area the voiced velar occlusive g became the voiced velar fricative γ.

The isogloss of this change is, in the main, represented by a line connecting the source of the Soča River, Cerkno, Poljane, Škofja Loka, Horjulj with Logatec and Postojna, and includes a part of the dialects of Rezija, the entire Venetian Slovenia, Upper Soča dialects, Rovte, and all the dialects of Kras, Istria and Notranjsko. For instance, for CSS gora, grah, grabiti, bogat, noga, boga (gen. sg.), praga, one finds, e.g. in the dialect of Kras γǫra, γràx, γrâbit, bǫ́γat, nǫ́γa, boγâ (however, bûx), prâγa (however, prâx).

One part of the dialects of Rezija knows a further change of γ to h, e.g. hóra, hrábit, bóhat, nóha; an other part the γ > h > ø change also, e.g. óra, rábit, bóat, nóa.

The g > γ isogloss continues into the Čakavian speech area.

grehov, *sinov*, *gostov*). A number of the morphological evolutions in substantives were, of course, already strongly dialectal; thus, for example, a new gen. pl. ending of the substantives of Class II developed in the Central dialects in *-á* (e.g., *žená*, *sestrá*), and in the western dialects in *-é* or *-í* (e.g., *žené* or *žení*, *sestré* or *sestrí*). At one time three endings in the loc. sg. masc. subst. of Class I existed: *-ej* < *-*ě* under stress (e.g., *list* vs. *listéj*) and *-e* < **ě* if not stressed (e.g., *stol* vs. *stôle*); *-i* (e.g., *syroty* in *MSS of Stična* [I 56]; and *-u* (from old *u-* stems, e.g., *meystu* in *MSS of Stična* [I 62]). In the first prints of the sixteenth century all three endings still competed in usage; the *-u* ending ultimately prevailed in the written language only much later. Among the oldest mergers of inflectional types was the liquidation of some of the old consonantal stems and the merger of the old masculine *ĭ-* substantives with the *o-* pattern (e.g., the *MSS of Stična* has still *goſspody* for CSS *gospoda* in gen. sg. [I 53]). A few substantives such as *kri*, *oče*, *dan*, *oči*, *prsi*, *duri*, however, kept some of their characteristic features beyond the fifteenth century.

The nominal declension of adjectives was lost during this period. All that remained from its formal pattern was the masculine nominative (and accusative) singular form and the feminine gender pattern in the singular; other case forms, however, were pronominal (e.g., *dobrega* and *dobriga* side by side with the pronominal forms *tega* and *tiga*). In this manner the difference between the old pronominal and compound declensions also disappeared, at least in the Central dialects (cf., e.g., the *MSS of Stična*: *tyga* [I 9] for CSS *tega*, *lubiga* [I 35] for CSS *ljubega*), with systematic *-iga*, *-imu*, *-im* desinences in gen., dat., and loc. sg. cases of the new adjectival declension.

In the verbal system, the use of the simple past tenses, the imperfect and the aorist, almost disappeared in the Central dialects. We find some aorist forms still in the *MS of Rateče* (ab. 1370), but not in the *MSS of Stična* (ab. 1428). They were used till quite recently in the Rezija and Ter dialects. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Slovene verbal inflection of the Central dialects possessed only the present tense and the imperative paradigms, the infinitive and supine forms; the supine only of the nonprefixed verbs. All other forms were either lost or substituted by new compound formations. A new future tense formation (*bom* + *-l-* participle) began to emerge in the Central dialects (e.g., *bomo storili*; however, still in the *MS of Rateče imamo storiti*, i.e., *imamь* + infinitive pattern; and still today in the Ter dialect *ćьmo stor̂tь*, i.e., **xot'ǫ* + infinitive pattern); the new *bom* + *-l-* participle model expanded very early into Kajkavian; it is attested already in the first Kajkavian prints of the sixteenth century.

In the present tense 3 person sg. and pl. inflectional ending *-t* must have been lost earlier; the same should be assumed for the 1 pl.-ending *-mo*, which replaced the old *-m*. In a new evolution, the 1 sg. ending *-m* replaced the old *-ǫ* of thematic verbs (the *MSS of Stična*, however, still has *proſſo* [I 50] for CSS *prosim*, *odpuſcho* [I 59] for CSS *odpustim*), and the new 3 pl. present tense long forms with *-ejo*, *-ijo* started to compete with the old forms in *-o* or *-e* (e.g., in a slightly younger *MS of Gorske bukve* [1582] *sture* [20] for CSS *storê*, but *derschyo* [2] for CSS *držijo*. An important change took place in the imperative pattern as well: the old imperative structure was unified during this period from two formal patterns to one, e.g., for an earlier **nesěte* and **nosite* (2 pl. imper.) to *nesite* and *nosite* of CSS.

THE EVOLUTION OF SLOVENE: 1500-1800 It has been shown that by the end of the fifteenth century the development of the language spoken in Slovene lands already produced a number of distinct dialectal bases which in turn began to affect its original unity. It is in this incipient diversity of speechways that at the very beginning of the history of Modern Slovene, the Central dialects were elevated to the rank of a written language (1550). This cultural-linguistic fact, crucial as it was for the later history of Slovene, did not stop the process of spontaneous dialectalization of the vernacular, which continued to be conditioned by an intensified socio-political and socio-cultural parochialism of Slovene life during this period. Thus the subsequent evolution of the natural Slovene, including its Central dialects and irrespective of its written language, simply followed the forces revealed so far in its preceding history and development. These tendencies climaxed, as it were, in an intensification of the phonological opposition between long and short vowels which in the short vowel system triggered a vowel reduction drift. Hence, vowel reduction became one of the strongest factors in the evolution of Slovene of this period, moving it in a current of its own making toward deeper and deeper dialectal cleavage. A number of

Figure 17. TREATMENT OF THE WORD-FINAL *-g IN SLOVENE DIALECTS

Examples: noga, gen. pl. nog; prag, gen. sg. praga

(See also Figure 16)

/g/ vs. /-k/ in CSS, most of Lower Carniola, Styria:	noga, nok; prak, praga
/g/ vs. /-x/ partially in Central dialects:	noga, nox; prax, praga
/ɣ/ vs. /-x/ in Goriško, Kras, Notranjsko:	noɣa, nox; prax, praɣa
no devoicing in Rovte, Horjulj:	noɣa, noɣ; praɣ, praɣa

other prosodic, vocalic, consonantal, grammatical and lexical innovations during this period intensified this dialectalization trend still further. What characterizes them most is the fact that they rarely spread over broader areas and that they remained essentially dialectal.

Some of the specific *prosodic* evolutions of this period were:

(1) the continuation and consolidation of the retraction of the word-final short accent to an originally short or reduced vowel, in words of the *ženȁ*, *zelȅn*, *məglȁ*, *təmə̏n* type (see above). This was a retraction without lengthening; it is represented by the dialects of Zilja in Carinthia (e.g., *žę̀na*, *mə̀gu̯a*), partially of the Upper Soča dialects (e.g., Bovec, *žę̏na*, *mə̏γla*), and in the western Rovte dialects (e.g., *žę̏na*, *mȁγla*).

(2) the retraction of the long falling word-final stress back to the preceding syllable in words of the type *okȏ* (< **ȍko*), *golȏb* (< **go̍lob*, giving now *ȍko*, *gȍlob*. This is the so-called "tertiary" accent retraction in Slovene, again a chronologically distinct, structurally discriminative, and essentially dialectal accent shift. As in "secondary" retraction before, the shift from an open syllable (*okȏ* > *ȍko*) is territorially broader than the shift from a closed final syllable. It affected, however, an even smaller number of dialects than the "secondary" retraction. It is found, for instance, in Zilja, Eastern Rož and Podjuna in Carinthia (e.g., in Zilja: *ọ́ko*, in Rož *ọ̏kə* but *hawȏb*), in Rezija and Ter (e.g., in Rezija: *ọ̀kọ* and *họ̀lṳp*), and in Črni vrh of the Rovte dialects (e.g., *ọ̏ku* but *γalȗəp*).[12]

(3) the liquidation of pitch and quantity oppositions in most western dialects and in the dialects of Styria and Pannonia dialectal base (see Figure 25). For instance, in the Kras dialects: in gen. sg. *brȃta*, in *slȃma*, *zviȇzda*, *kuȏža*, *žȇna*, *buȏγat*, or in Central Styrian dialect: *brâta*, *slâma*, *zvêizda*, *kôuža*, *žiẹna*, *bộgat*, as compared to the Upper Carniolan *bráta*, *sláma*, *zvẹ́zda*, *kọ́ža*, *žéna*, *bogàt*. The liquidation of the phonemic quantity opposition in the Styrian dialects resulted in lengthening of old short stressed vowels in monosyllabic words of the type: *brȁt* > *brȃt*, *kmȅt* > *kmȇt*, *dȁž* /dəš/ > *dẹ̑ž*.

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[12] Rigler 1972, 115-126.

The *vocalic changes* during this period increasingly became more complicated by dialectal developments. For instance, the syllabic *r̥* and *l̥*, both of which probably lost their syllabic nature after the sixteenth century, participated in such a complex evolution. This evolution was influenced by stress, quantity and position of the sonorant in word, features which, in Slovene, differ from dialect to dialect. Earlier, old syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* followed alternative evolutions. In the dialects of the old Pannonian dialectal base they retained their syllabic character; only later the syllabic /*l̥*/ changed to /*u*/ here (e.g., *pȑvi*, *vȑba*, *pȕn*, *vȕk* in Prekmurje). Elsewhere syllabic *r̥* and *l̥*, phonemically reinterpreted as diphthongal combinations -ə*r*- and -ə*l*-, developed further into diphthongs -ə*r*- and *-ow-*. The hesitating usage in the sixteenth century texts of *kerst* ∿ *kàrst* ∿ *krst* and *delshni* ∿ *dalshni* ∿ *dolṣhni* for the CSS *krst* /*kə̀rst*/ and *dolžni* /*dȏwžni*/ testify that this evolution must have been relatively late. In several dialects even today (see Figure 20), in fact, a number of deviating solutions exist, particularly in the evolution of *l̥* > ə*l* > ə*w* > *ow* > *u* or *a*, and in their incorporation into the individual vowel systems.[13]

The most significant change in the vowel system since the fifteenth century, however, is the vowel reduction process known as the *modern vowel reduction of Slovene* (see Figure 21). Phonetically, this change consists of a quantitative reduction of vowels (short, stressed and unstressed), leading initially from compactness to diffuseness in the system, then to /ə/, and ultimately to /#/; or of an articulatory weakening of vowels, leading from tenseness to laxness (R. Jakobson 1971), and producing qualitative changes in the system. In Slovene dialects, for the *compact* > *diffuse* reduction of short *e*, *i*, *u*, *ě* to /ə/ or to /#/, e.g., *kruh* /*krȕx*/ > *krə̏x*, *sekírica* > *skírca*, *kúpiti* > *kúpt*, *kupȋti* > *kəpȋt* and *kpȋt*, *kupíli* > *kpíl*, *vesẹ̑l* /*vesẹ̑w*/ > *vəsẹ̑w*; and for the *tense* > *lax*

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[13] Thus, CSS and most of its dialects do not have syllabic consonants in their vocalic systems. Phonemically, in languages with an indeterminate vowel (schwa ə) in their systems, the syllabic consonants are to be reinterpreted as polyphonematic units. The monophonematic *r̥* in SCr. *pȓvī*, therefore, differs from the -ə*r*- combinations in Slovene *pŕvī* /*pə̀rvi*/ and Bulgarian *părvi* /*pə̀rvi*/ by the fact that Sle. and Bulg. possess an 'indeterminate vowel' in their phonological systems.

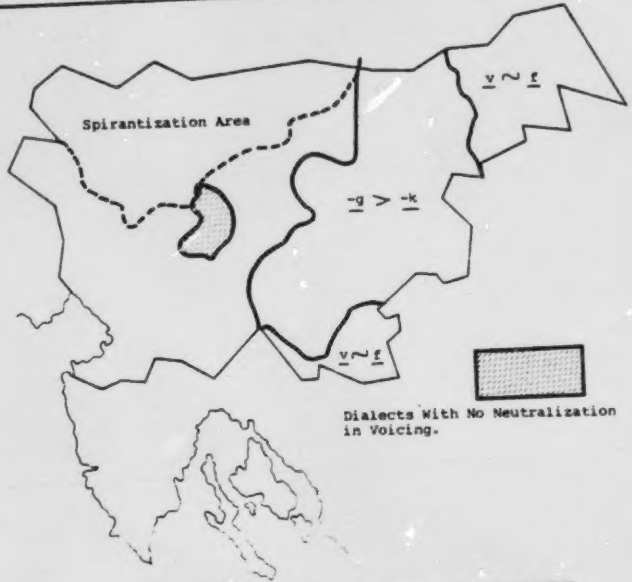

Figure 18. NEUTRALIZATION IN VOICING OF CONSONANTS IN SLOVENE

Contemporary Standard Slovene and a great majority of Slovene dialects know the neutralization in voicing of obstruents in consonantal clusters and in word-final position. Thus, in CSS the following alternations of voiced ∼ voiceless consonants take place in these positions: b ∼ p, d ∼ t, g ∼ k, z ∼ s, ž ∼ š; e.g., vrabec vrabca /vrapca/, riba rib /rip/; sladek sladka /slatka/; brada brad /brat/; noga nog /nok/; koza koz /kos/; koža kož /koš/; glas, glasba /glazba/; svat, svatba /svadba/. In the dialects, however, the situation is more complicated.

It is only the part of the Slovene speech territory east of the -g > -k isogloss, which has a consistent neutralization in voicing of all obstruents in consonantal clusters and in word-final position, including the word-final -g > -k change. E.g., in Lower Carniola rûk rûga, snêik snêiga; in Central Styria rôk rôga, snêk snêga; in Prekmurje snêik snêiga; in Bela Krajina rôk rôga, snêk snêga.

The areas west of the -g > -k isogloss, partially characterized by -g > -x, a general g > γ change, and the spirantization of voiced occlusives (See Figures 16, 17, 23), offer the following distribution of neutralization in voicing:

First, there are three dialects -- one Upper Carniolan (Selca) and two of the Rovte group (Horjulj and Škofja Loka) -- which in general do not neutralize voice. E.g., for Horjulj zôb zabâ, lêd lidû. Of these three dialects, Selca and Škofja Loka have a word-final -g > -x change, and an incipient neutralization in voicing of the obstruents.

The dialects which know spirantization of voiced occlusives (See Figure 23), also have the neutralization in voicing of obstruents in Progress; here -b > -f tends to be replaced by -b > -p (e.g., zof and zop), -d > -đ and -s by -d > -t (e.g., leđ and let). These dialects have the word-final -g > -x change (e.g., rôx rogâ, snêx snegâ).

In the remaining regions west of the -g > -k line, the b > p, d > t, z > s, ž > š alternations of voiced ∼ voiceless consonants are regular. Here, both -g and -γ are correlated with -x in word-final position. While the -γ > -x change in this position may represent a neutralization in voice change (e.g., Kras briêx, briêγa; rûx, rûγa; South Notranjsko snêix, snêiγa; brêix, brêiγa, rûx, rûγa), the -g > -x change should be treated as a part of the spirantization process (See Figure 23)

In the dialects where labio-dental v functions in the system of consonants as an obstruent, v participates in the neutralization of voicing and alternates with f. The v ∼ f correlation is known in the Bela Krajina zdrâf and zdráva (fem. sg.), sîf and síva, fsàk (CSS vsak); in the Prlekija dialect gláva, gláv /glâf/ (gen. pl.), kráva, kráv /krâf/, pràv /prâf/, práva (fem. sg.).

reduction of */o/* > */a/*, */o/* > */u/*, */i/* > */ə/*, */a/* > */e/*, e.g., *bogȁt* */bogȁt/* > *bagȧt*, *otrȍk* > *atrȧk*, *lẹ́to* > *lẹ́tu*, *častíti* > *čestə̏t*. Evolutionarily speaking, both types of modern vowel reduction represent the other side of the progressive dependence of vowel quality on vowel quantity in Slovene, which induces the lengthening and diphthongization of long vowels in its vowel systems. Phonologically, such a vowel reduction consists of a reduction in the number of vocalic phonemes in the individual dialects.

The evidence provided by Slovene dialectology indicates that the radiation center of the modern vowel reduction of Slovene seems to have been somewhere in the central dialects, i.e., in the dialects with distinctive pitch in their systems. It would therefore seem that in these dialects — judging entirely from the evolutionary point of view — stress must have been dominating both, quantity and pitch in word structure, with such an intensity that it was able to induce weakening and reduction of unstressed and short stressed vowels. Phonologically, such an evolution represents, to say the least, an interesting case of the correlation of vowel reduction with the prosodic system. It is this phonological aspect which makes the modern vowel reduction of Slovene different from the vowel reductions found in other Slavic languages.

The first traces of vowel reduction in Slovene can be found in the oldest texts from Upper Carniola, perhaps already in the *MS of Rateče* (e.g., *yiede* [III 7] */jəde/* for the CSS *ide*; cf. V. Oblak 1889, 138); it is more evident in the sixteenth century Upper Carniolan texts (e.g., in *Gorske bukve* [1582] *bite* [19] for the CSS *biti*, *k praude* [29] for *k pravdi*, *prelomel* [10] for *prelomil*, *podstopl* [41] for *podstopil*), as well as in the earliest Protestant prints based on the Lower Carniolan dialects (e.g., in Trubar's notations: *hodell* for CSS *hődil*, *rishiti* for *rešȋti*, *scrota* for *sirốta*, *zheul* for *čȇvelj*, *hinauz* for *hinȃvec*). By the seventeenth and eighteenth century the modern vowel reduction already reached the extreme periphery of the Slovene speech area. Since then it has been bringing about a corrosion of the phonological and morphological systems of the individual dialects; from the dialects, in turn, the vowel reduction has been influencing the orthoepy of the literary standard ever since such a standard has been established; cf. some forms of the paradigm of the CSS verb *hodȋti* in contemporary colloquial

Slovene: *xódət* (inf.), *xǫ̀dəm*, *xǫ̀dəš*, *xǫ̀d*, *xǫ̀dmo*, *xǫ̀dte*, *xǫ̀djo* (present t., sg. and pl.), *xȍd xȍdte* (imper., sg. and pl.), *xódu*, *xodła*, *xodłl* (-*l*- participle, masc., fem. sg., masc. pl.). Its influence on the written language whose norm rests on the first prints in the sixteenth century, however, is minimal.

Another aspect of the modern vowel reduction changes known to a number of Slovene dialects was the process of vowel adaptation in the frame of one word. This phenomenon, quite often mistakingly called "vowel harmony," consists of a restitution of a vowel in a word, lost or weakened in reduction, to harmonize with the vowel under stress. Such changes are recorded already in the sixteenth century (e.g., in Trubar: *sorota* for CSS *siróta*), and have been attested in several Slovene dialects (e.g., in Ter and Rezija: *žanȃ* for CSS *žéna*, *zinȉ* for CSS *žéni* [dat. sg.]).

The evolution of several *consonantal changes* of the Modern Slovene period, documented in its manuscripts and printed texts, must have started much earlier. Some of them were still spatially extensive, affecting broader zones; others remained narrowly dialectal.

By far the most important among the new changes was the treatment of the Common Slavic velar *ł* sound in Slovene. As it is known, this sound was originally linked to the position before non-final vowels and only after the loss of *jers* it developed two critical positions: word-finally and immediately before a consonant. In these two positions the evolution of *ł* in Slovene in general followed the already established grooves of the *w* and *v* sounds' distribution in the dialects (see Figure 15). From the dialects the *ł* > *w* change entered the literary language but remained hidden under the guise of its traditional spelling. Later it became one of the main features of the historical orthographic system of modern Slovene.

There are two positions relevant for the evolution of velar *ł* in Slovene (see Figure 22). Before a vowel (position *ła*), it tended to lose its 'dark' character and merged with the 'light' *l* of the *l* + front vowel position,[14] thus forming the so-called 'middle' /*l*/, the

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[14] The evolution *ła* > *la* did not need to take place before the evolution -*ł* > -*w*, however. Cf. Rigler 1961/62, 241-249.

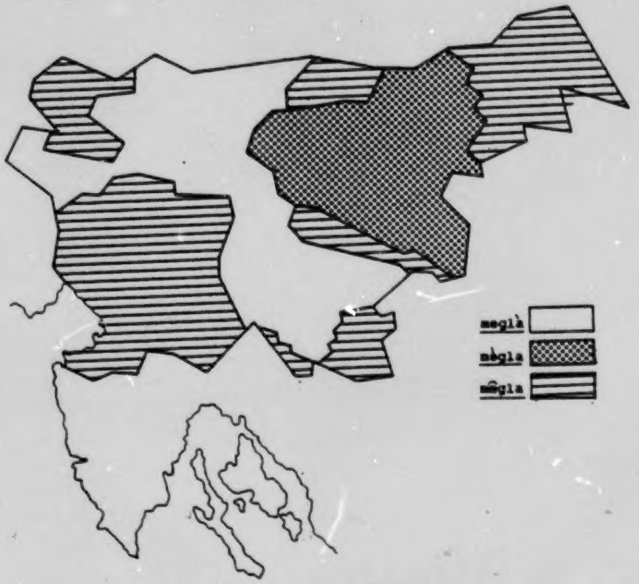

Figure 19. RETRACTION OF THE ACCENT OF THE *megla* TYPE IN SLOVENE

The retraction of the word-final accent to a preceding, originally - reduced vowel of the type *meglȁ*, *temə̏n*, dominates in the western and eastern part of the Slovene speech area. In most of the dialects knowing this retraction, the vowel under accent remained short; e.g., mə̂vla, (Kras), mə̏vla (Črni vrh), *mə̀gva* (Podjuna), *mə̀gva* (Zilja), mə̀vla (Horjulj); in the Styrian dialectal base the vowel under stress lengthened to ẹ̄ (iə̑); e.g., *mȇgla* and *miȇgla*. On the other hand, the Slovene Central dialects (Upper Carniola and most of Lower Carniola), Rož in Carinthia, part of Upper Soča (Kobarid, Borjana), Venetian Slovene and Rezija do not know this retraction (e.g., *meglȁ*, *temə̏n*). This is the basic pattern of Contemporary Standard Slovene; e.g., CSS *meglȁ* and *mə̀gla* /*megl*-/, *dəskà*, *məzdà*, *stəzà*, *təmà*, *trəskà*; *stebə̀r* and *stə̂ber* /*steb*/, *bezəg*, *mezə̀g*, *čebə̀r*, *temə̀n* and *temə́n* and *tə̂men* /*tem*-/, *tenə̀k* and *tenák* and *tának*.

representative *l* sound in Slovene. We have this evolution attested in a broad belt of dialects across Kras, Notranjsko, Lower Carniola, Styria, Prekmurje (e.g., CSS *lâs*, *glâs*, *gláva*, *nésla*). On the other hand, in most of the Upper Carniola and Carinthia dialects, and in a smaller part of the Lower Carniola dialect, the velar *ł* of the *l* + back vowel position gave /*w*/ (e.g., Upper Carniolan *wâs*, *gwâs*, *gwáwa*, *nệswa*), a change attested already in the beginning of the seventeenth century for Carinthia (e.g., *guaua*, *nesua* in Hieronymus Megiser's *Dictionarium quattuor linguarum* [1608]). In the adjoining dialects of Črni vrh, Horjulj, Southern Notranjsko, as well as in Bela Krajina, the velar *ł* seems to have preserved its velar nature (e.g., *łas*, *głas*, *głava*, *nesła*).

In the word-final and in the proconsonantal position (-*ł* and -*łC*- respectively), however, the velar *ł* gave *u̯* /*w*/, and we have this reflex today in most Slovene dialects as well as in CSS, e.g., *vol* /*vȍw*/, *bel* /*bệw*/, *belkast* /*bệwkast*/, *bolnik* /*bownîk*/. This change probably originated in the western zones and was completed in the Central dialects by the middle of the seventeenth century. The Protestant writers P. Trubar and J. Dalmatin still used the grapheme *l* and wrote, e.g., *uoll* for the CSS *vol* /*vòw*/, *beil* for *bel* /*bệw*/, *govuril* for *govoril* /*govộriw*/, *bolnik* for *bolnik* /*bownîk*/, *tkalci* for *tkalci* /*tkáwci*/. In all probability, their grapheme *l* in -*ł*- and -*łC*- combinations was still a /*ł*/ sound. In the next hundred years, however, its evolution to /*w*/ stretched far beyond the Central dialects. It is only on the periphery of the Slovene speech area today that we find different reflexes; in Bela Krajina a true velar /*ł*/ (e.g., *beł*), in Rezija a 'middle' /*l*/ (e.g., *bil*), in Eastern Styria and Prekmurje an /*o*/, in part of Prlekija an /*a*/ (e.g, *govóro* or *govóra*).

The old palatalized consonants *l'* and *n'* in Slovene also evolved relatively late and in a diversified fashion. In CSS these sounds are represented by the *lj* and *nj* notations which in the position before a vowel stand for a *l* + *j* and *n* + *j*, word-finally and before a consonant for a /*l* ∿ *l'*/ and /*n* ∿ *n'*/ pronunciation (see below, Chapter Five); e.g., CSS nom. sg. *pólje* /*pộlje*/, gen. pl. *pólj* /*pộl* ∿ *pộl'*/, adj. *póljski* /*pộlski* ∿ *pộl'ski*/; gen. sg. *kônja* /*kônja*/, gen. pl. *kónj* /*kộn* ∿ *kộn'*/, adj. *kónjski* /*kộnski* ∿ *kộn'ski*/.[15] This situation mirrors the evolution of palatalized consonants in the dialects, being parallel to the earlier *r'* > *r*/*rj* evolution. However, it probably did not take place before the eighteenth century. The main tendencies of the transformation of the old palatalized *l'* and *n'* in the Slovene dialects are: their hardening in most of the Central dialects to /*l*/ and /*n*/ (e.g., *kral* for CSS *kralj*, *v̀ola* for *volja*, *kon* for *konj*, *konski* for *konjski*, *niva* for *njiva*); their dissolution into *jl* and *jn* sequences in some of the other Central dialects (e.g., *vojla*, *kojn*, and further *koĩ*, *jĩva* for the CSS *konj*, *njiva*); and their preservation in the northern and western dialects in Carinthia, the Littoral, and along the Čakavian and Kajkavian speech areas, e.g., *kral'*, *vol'a*, *kon'*, *n'iva*.

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[15] Toporišič 1976, 68-69.

Finally, there are two other consonantal evolutions, dialectal and typical for the northwestern zones of the Slovene speech territory, the so-called "secondary" dialectal palatalization of velars, and the spirantization of word-final voiced occlusives. Marginal and less significant as they may appear for the structure of Slovene, they are complementing its evolution down into its modern history.

The "secondary" palatalization of velars *k*, *g*, *x* before the Slovene front vowels: *i* < CS **i*, **y*, and *e* < CS **e*, **ę*, **ě*, dialectally also *ь, *ъ, has been limited to three dialectal regions. Its results vary in the different zones where they took place (see Figure 24); e.g., in the dialects of Upper Carniola most frequently *č*, *j*, *š*; in Rovte *i̯k*, *i̯j*, *i̯x*; and in the Notranjsko dialects *k'*/*ć*, *j*, *x'*/*ś*. Thus, for the CSS nom. pl. *roke*, *noge*, *muhe*, one finds in Carinthia, Upper Carniola and some Rovte dialects *róče*, *nojê*, *múše*; in the Slovene dialects of Istria *mõče* (gen. sg. of CSS *moka*), *nôje*, *grîęše* (acc. pl. of the CSS *greh*); and in the southern Notranjsko dialects *rak'îə* and *raćîe*, *najîə*, *mûx'iə*. The textual evidence and its dialectal distribution support the assumption that this change must have taken place in the seventeenth century, although it might have occurred somewhat earlier as well.

In a broad area in the northwestern dialects the final voiced occlusives -*b*, -*d*, -*g*, tend to be changed to corresponding fricatives. The phenomenon known as the spirantization of voiced occlusives, did not generate new phonemes in the consonantal systems of individual dialects, however. While in Carinthian dialects the spirantization does not seem to be limited positionally, elsewhere this change takes place only word-finally.

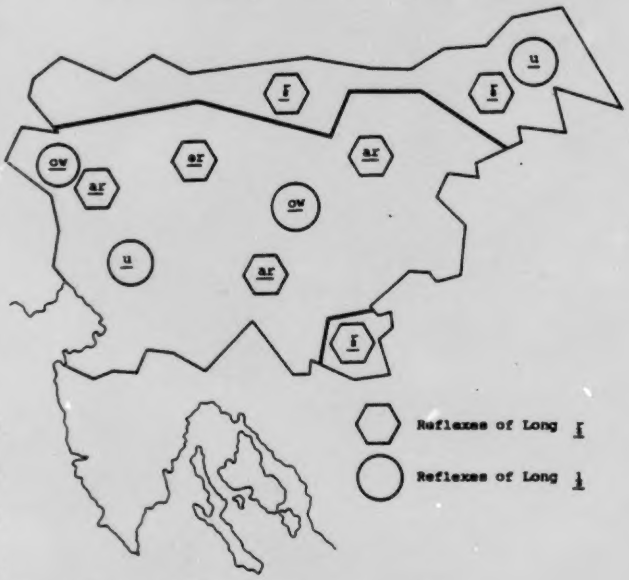


Figure 20. THE COMMON SLAVIC SONANTS IN SLOVENE

The evolution of syllabic sonants r̥, l̥ in Slovene is neither uniform nor parallel, and was influenced by several factors, particularly by stress, quantity, and the position of a syllabic sonant in a word.

In today's Slovene dialects the syllabic r̥ has been preserved mainly in the Eastern Styria, Carinthia, and partly in the Bela Krajina dialects. E.g. čr̥v, gr̥m, smr̥t, pr̥vi, zr̥no, gr̥lo for CSS orthographic čŕv, gŕm, smŕt, pŕvi, zŕno, gŕlo, pronounced /čèru, germ, smert, pervi, zerno, gerlo/. East Styria and Bela Krajina are contiguous with the Kajkavian dialects which also retained syllabic r̥.

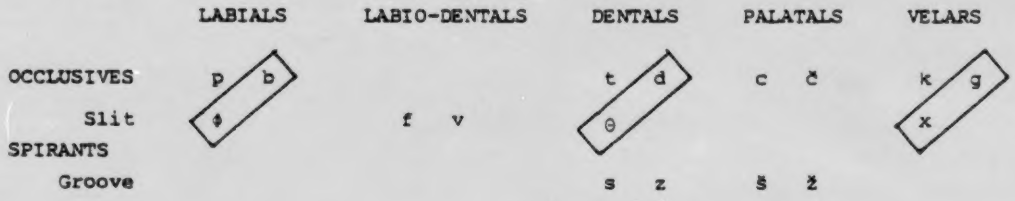
Elsewhere, the stressed long r̥ changed to -er- (e.g. Upper Carniola pèrvi, zèrno, gèrlo) and -ar- (e.g. Kras and Venetian Slovenia pàrvi, zàrno); Styria pàrvi, zàrno; Lower Carniola pàrvi, zàrno, smàrt, gàrm, čàru), while the unstressed r̥ is generally preserved everywhere as -er-; e.g., Lower Carniolan pèrši (3rd sg. pres. t.), vertèt (inf.), CSS prší, vrtéti, dóbršen /dóberšen/, mójstrski /mójsterski/.

The evolution of syllabic l̥ in stressed syllables of the type *vьlkъ, *dьlgъ, *blъxa, *slьza, *jablъko (in CSS vólk, dólg, bólha, sólza, jábolko), in the dialects of Kras and northeastern Styria gave u; e.g. vuk, dug, buxa, suza, jabuka; in south Styria o, e.g. vok, dog, boxa, soza, jaboka. Elsewhere, l̥ gave at first -ol-, later -oł-, e.g. vołk, dołg, bołxa, sołza, jabołko. During the 16th century velar ł changed to w (u̯), presumably in the northwestern (Littoral, Carinthia) dialects first, and only later in the Central dialects, before the 17th century at the latest. Thus, today in the Central dialects (as well as in CSS pronounciation) we find vówk, dówg, bówha, sówza, jábowko.

In short and unstressed syllables l̥ dialectally changed to u; thus, e.g. in Ribnica in Lower Carniola suzé (nom. pl.) and sówz (gen. pl.), or in central Kras mûst (< ml̥st, CSS mólsti, inf.) and múzem (< ml̥zem, CSS mólzem, 1st sg. pres. t.), and sówza.

In initial position, the reflexes of r̥ and l̥ are more irregular. Cf., Common Slavic *rъžь, *rъži (gen. sg.); lъžь (lъža) with CSS ŕž /erž/, rží /erží/; lâž, laží, and lež, leží. The situation in the dialects is still more complicated; e.g., èrž, àrž, rèž; lèž, lâž, ležà (nom.); erží, arží, reží; leží, ží, laží, ležè (gen.); legát, lugát, logát (inf.).

The spirantization of word-final *-b* to the series of voiceless spirants *-ƀ* ∿ *-ɸ* ∿ *-f* ∿ *-p'*; word-final *-d* to the series of voiceless spirants *-đ* ∿ *-θ* ∿ *-s* ∿ *-t'*, and *-g* to *-x*, is optionally represented in the NW part of the Upper Carniola dialects where one finds, e.g., *zǫ̑ɸ*, *grâθ*, *rə̑x* for CSS *zob*, *grad*, *rog*. In Baudouin de Courtenay's notation for the Bohinj-Posavje,[16] e.g., *zǫ̑ɸ* ∿ *zǫ̑f*, gen. sg. *zobȃ*, *grȃθ*, gen. sg. *grâda*, *gospǫ̑θ* for CSS *gospod*, *zȋθ* for CSS *zid*, *snẹ̑x*, *snəgȃ*, *brẹ̑x*. The Changes here entail the following processes:



The present-day isogloss of spirantization includes the zones of the dialects of Podjuna in Carinthia, the Upper Soča dialects, and Tolmin and Cerkno in the Rovte group of dialects; the phenomenon does not, however, have uniform parameters of change for individual consonants in the dialects. The *-g* > *-x* change seems to have had the farthest extent; it is known today well beyond this area, intermittently in Lower Carniola and in some dialects of Styria (see Figure 23).[17]

A SYNOPTIC VIEW In a general survey the following basic tendencies may be singled out as representative of the historical development of Slovene through the centuries.

In its *prosodic system*, there is a tendency to preserve and regenerate, at least in a part of its speech area, namely the Central dialects, the prosodic features of tone, quantity and stress in a hierarchy in which the tone, confined to long syllables and seemingly representing a variety of accent intensity, preserved its phonemic distinctiveness. Quantity, contingent on the place of the accent, guided and organized the evolution of the vowel system, in which any accented vowel (except final) tends to become long;

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[16] J. Baudouin de Courtenay 1877, 90-93.

[17] Cf. Ramovš 1924, 189, 217, 234; Tesnière 1930-31, 355-356; Isačenko 1939, 34-35; cf. also J. Rigler in *SR* 20 (1972), 372-373.

a tendency to relieve the end of the word of the prosodic feature of stress, which leads to a series of accent retractions. In Slovene, accent retractions may be affected by the quantity and structure of the syllable under stress, as well as by the inherent quantity of the vowel receiving the stress. Thus, shifts from open syllables (of the *ženà* type) seem to be more regular than shifts from closed syllables (of the *zelèn* type); those from long-open syllables are marginal (*okộ* type). On the other hand, the shifts to long vowels (of the *dūšȁ* type) again are more common than shifts to short vowels (of the *ženȁ* type) or to a schwa /ə/ (of the *məglȁ* and *təmə̏n* type);

a tendency in a major part of the speech area of Slovene to eliminate tone and quantity, leading to a pattern in which stress alone represents the distinctive element of the system.

These tendencies, in the main, account for the evolution of both basic accentual patterns of contemporary Slovene. One is based on the system of quantity and tone, current in the Central, Carinthia, Upper Soča, Venetian Slovenia and in part of the Bela Krajina dialects; it represents the conservative norm of Contemporary Standard Slovene. The other, based on the system of stress alone, predominates in most of the Western dialects in the Littoral and Styria, including the Eastern Styria dialects; it represents the most widespread accentual pattern in the koinè of the educated speakers of CSS.

In the *vocalic system*, there is a propensity to strengthen the quantitative opposition of syllabic segments, whereby long vowels are always accented, while short vowels may be accented or non-accented; and

a propensity of the accented vowels in such a system to become longer and tense, and when long — diphthongized, and of the non-accented vowels to become short and lax, and when short — reduced.

This dependence of vowel quality on vowel quantity represents a basic and permanent factor of change in the vowel systems of Slovene in its dialectalization process through the centuries. The vowel systems of both Central dialects may well illustrate the tendencies of this evolution, viz.:

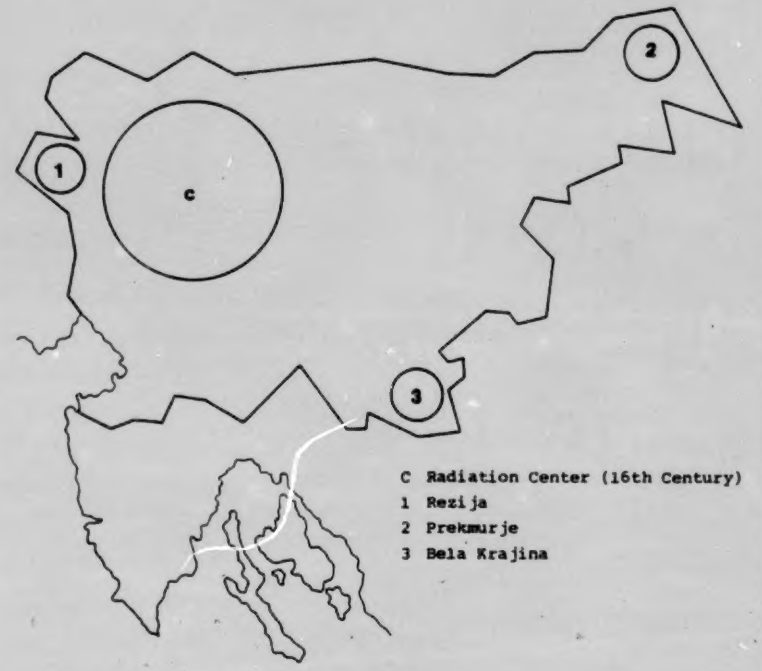

Figure 21. MODERN VOWEL REDUCTION IN SLOVENE

While the first traces of a vowel reduction in Slovene are older than the fifteenth century, its acute form in the dialects, known as the Modern Vowel Reduction of Slovene, can be systematically followed only in the texts of the Modern Period of its history. It has been established that the radiation center of the Modern Vowel Reduction must have been somewhere in the Northwestern and Central dialects, and that after the sixteenth century it slowly spread beyond this area. In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries it reached its maximal intensity and greatest geographical extent and gave the Slovene dialects their characteristic profile. At that time it began to enter the periphery of the Slovene speech territory: Bela Krajina, Prekmurje, and Rezija. The degree of its effect on these three peripheral dialects today is probably very much the same as it was on the Central dialects two centuries ago (e.g., *míslịtị*, *prịséčị*, *kụpítị*, *kụ̀p*, *sị̀t*).

UPPER CARNIOLA

Long Vowels

i u
ẹ ọ
e o
a

Short Vowels

i u
ə
e o
a

LOWER CARNIOLA

Long Vowels

i u u
ię uǫ
i̯e u̯o
ei̯ ou̯
a

Short Vowels

i ü u
ə
e o
a

In the *consonantal system* exists a tendency toward symmetry, particularly in the voiced-voiceless organization of both series of obstruents, an evolution toward a minimal system of sonorants (*m*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *j*,

p b t d c ǯ k g
f v/w s z š ž x γ
m n
l j
r

with *n'*, *l'* only facultative), an economic system of palatal consonants (*c*, *č*, *š*, *ž*, *j*); and a maximal utilization of the velar consonant system (the voiced fricative /γ/ is characteristic only for dialects where its use is alternate with /*g*/;

a tendency toward hardening of the palatalized dental consonants, including **r'*; partial loss and a disparate distribution of */l'/* and */n;/*, and */ć/* > */č/*;

a tendency to preserve the bilabial fricative */w/* in the phonemic system as a representative of the CS **v*, velar *ł* in word-final and preconsonantal position, and dialectally also velar *ł* before back vowels.

In the *morphology*, there is a progressive tendency in the dialects to weaken the inflectional categories of the morphological dual, in particular in the nominal system;

a tendency to simplify and unify the declensional pattern of substantives to three basic declensions according to gender, the declension of adjectives to a basic pronominal pattern, and a general tendency to weaken the case system of both patterns;

a tendency to simplify the system of tenses in verbal morphology to three basic time perspectives (present, past, future), and to rebuild their formal patterns analytically (a new past and a new future tense model);

a tendency to oppose supine and infinitive categories in the verbal system; and

a limited tendency to activate the verbal aspect category which in most of the speech area of Slovene remained in competition with the simplified tense system.

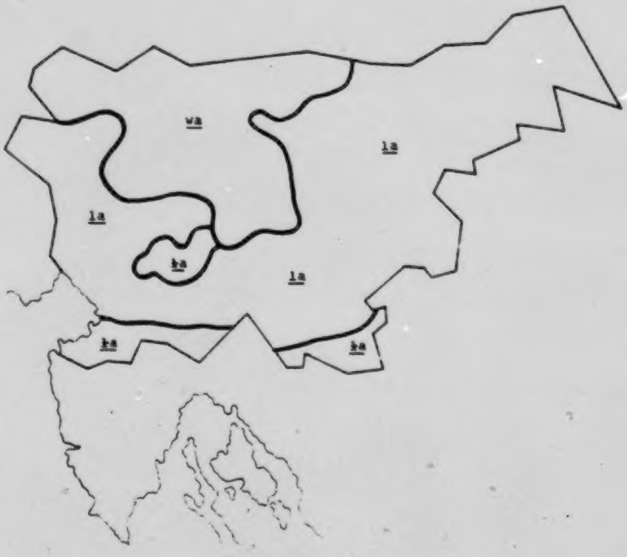

Figure 22. THE CS VELAR ł BEFORE NON-FRONT VOWELS IN SLOVENE

The reflex of the Common Slavic velar ł before non-front vowels (position *ła) is a middle l in CSS; e.g., laž, glava, nesla, lopata, malo, luna. In the dialects the CS velar ł has the following reflexes:

a middle l -- as in CSS -- in Lower Carniola, Notranjsko, Littoral, Styria, and Prekmurje;

a velar ł (ła) in the Rovte dialects (Horjulj, Črni vrh, and part of the Poljane dialect) and in lower Kras along the Čakavian and Kajkavian dialectal borders; e.g., łâž, głâva, nésła, łopâta, máło, łúna; and

a bilabial w (wa) in Upper Carniola, most of Carinthia, and intermittently in Lower Carniola; e.g., vâž, gwâva, nésva, vopâta, mávo, wúna.

CHAPTER FOUR

SLOVENE AND ITS DIALECTS

In Slavic linguistic literature the Slovene language has been traditionally portrayed as a language with a bewildering profusion and multiformity of dialects, quite out of proportion with the relatively small number of its speakers. Slovene dialectologists have registered forty-six dialects and subdialects and have grouped them into seven major dialectal bases, identified by the name of the geographic and historical Lands in which they are spoken. These are the areas of Carinthia (Koroško), the Littoral (Primorsko), Rovte, Lower Carniola (Dolenjsko), Upper Carniola (Gorenjsko), Styria (Štajersko), Eastern Styria and Pannonia, whose boundaries are determined by the topographical configuration of the Slovene speech territory (see Figure 25).

The peculiarity of the dialectalization of the Slovene language, however, lies beyond the topographical and administrative-territorial (political and ecclesiastic) division of the Slovene lands; it has been deeply embedded in the way of life of the inhabitants of the isolated, remote, and very often solitary settlements which developed during the centuries: a self-centered, sedentary provincialism, promoting dialectal splintering all the way down to the level of parish and village communities. The mosaic of forty-six dialects into which the linguistic diversity of the Slovene speech territory has been reduced, reflects this complex linguistic provincialism.

There are six such dialectal entities in Carinthia: the Zilja, Rož, Obir, Podjuna, Meža, and Remšenik dialects; eight in the Littoral area (often referred to as the Western dialects): the dialects of Rezija, Venetian Slovenia (Ter, Nadiža, Brda), Western Kras, Kras proper, Brkini, and Šavrini in Slovene Istria; ten in the Rovte dialectal area:

the Upper Soča (Borjana, Bovec, Kobarid), Tolmin, Cerkno, Črni vrh, Poljane, Škofja Loka, Horjulj, and Logatec dialects; five in the Styria area: the Bizeljsko-Sotla, central Styria, Savinjska dolina, Pohorje, and Kozjak dialects; five in the Eastern Styria and Pannonia area: the dialects of Slovenske gorice, Prlekija, Haloze, Središče, and Prekmurje;[1] two in Upper Carniola: the Gorenjsko, and Selška dolina dialects; and ten in the Lower Carniola area, including the dialects of Notranjsko (Inner Carniola), Medija, central and of the eastern Dolenjsko, Dolenjsko along the Sava River, and five dialects of Bela Krajina: two central, a northern, a southern and the dialect of Kostel. The two Carniola dialects, Gorenjsko and Dolenjsko, have had a central position in the geography of the Slovene lands since the fourteenth century; their dialects, known today as the Central dialects, served as the foundation for the Slovene literary language.

On the other hand, our classification and division of Slovene dialects today, in the eighties of our century, seems to be much less certain and definite than the one based on older, traditional distribution. As long as life in the Alpine lands was relatively stationary — and so it was until 1945 —, the linguistic development was slow. It became accelerated by the progress of modern transportation and of means of mass communication. The growth of cities and the relatively dynamic industrialization and urbanization of broad rural regions around industrial centers in the post-1945 period promoted internal migrations on an unprecedented scale, which broke down the isolation of former relatively recluse dialectal regions. This process today is shattering the traditional structure of social life and destroying the social frame for the survival of the dialects.

A SYSTEM OF DIFFERENTIAL ISOGLOSSES Obviously, our treatment of the Slovene dialects in this chapter will still have to be based on the traditional classification. This is especially true because first, the descriptive work about the Slovene dialects so far has attempted to draw a picture more of their earlier state than their sociolinguistic reality

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[1] Cf. Ramovš 1935, 170. Rigler 1973, 114, however, excludes the dialect of Haloze from this grouping and defines it as the Pannonian dialectal base.

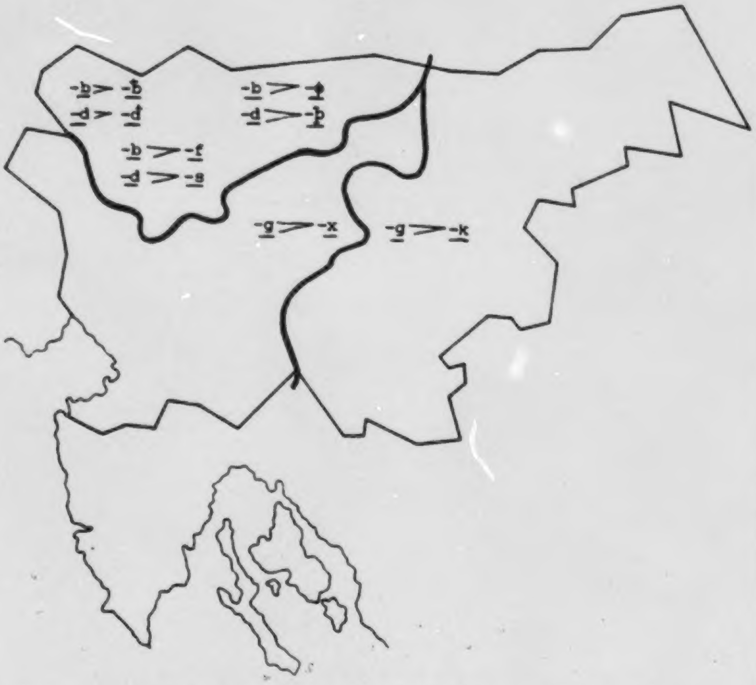


Figure 23. SPIRANTIZATION OF VOICED OCCLUSIVES IN SLOVENE

The spirantization of word-final voiced -b, -d, -g is a dialectal phenomenon characterizing the northwestern Slovene dialects. It reached a maximal intensity in the northwest Upper Carniola and Northeast part of the Upper Soča dialects, where -b > -f, -d > -s, -g > -x. Elsewhere the spirantization was weaker, with -b > -ɸ, -d > -θ (Rož, Podjuna in Carinthia, and Tolmin in the Rovte dialectal group); -b > -ƀ, -d > -đ (Zilja in the Carinthia and the remaining part of the Upper Soča dialects); -b > -p‘, -d > -t‘ (Cerkno); and a uniform -g > -x change over a much broader area of Carniola and Carinthia. The g > γ dialects (See Figure 16) are in word-final position part of this broader isogloss.

Thus, for word-final -g as in CSS sneg, breg, rog, this broader area consistently has -x, i.e. in Upper Carniola brêx, brêga (gen.); snêx, snêga; rûx, rûga; Rož snîex, brîex, rûex, rûexa (gen.); Kras brièx, brièγa, rûx, rôγa; and South Notranjsko snêix, snêiγa, brêix, brêiγa, rûx, rûγa.

For word-final -b as in CSS zob, slab, rob, and -d as in gospod, zid, hud, one finds in Upper Carniola zôɸ and zôf, swaɸ and swa‘, gospôθ, zîθ, xúθ; in the Rož dialect zôɸ, swàɸ, hospôθ, zîθ, hûθ; in the Podjuna dialect zôf, rôf; in the dialect of Tolmin zuôf, ruôf, γaspuôθ, zîθ, xûθ; and in the dialect of Cerkno zûop‘, rûop‘, γaspût‘, zît‘, xût‘.

of today; and secondly, the old classification allows us to present the language in its maximal diversity, which represents an aspect of Slovene which may be of particular interest to modern Slavic linguistics.

Our presentation of the dialects will rest, therefore on available descriptions of dialectal bases and on a selected inventory of the salient characteristic features uniting the individual dialects and subdialects of each base. Seven vocalic and prosodical characteristics of Slovene, arranged here chronologically, will be used:

(1) the reflexes of the Common Slavic nasal vowels **ę* and **ǫ*. The isogloss open vs. narrow reflexes of the denasalized vowels in the dialects represent one of the oldest divisions in the early evolution of Eastern Alpine Slavic. The open vowels for old nasals in the northern and northwestern dialects (Carinthia, NW Littoral area), with the preservation of the nasal vowels in one of the Carinthian dialects (Podjuna), indicate that the denasalization process in the *Northwest* Slovene speech area must have developed later than in the dialects of the *Southeast*;

(2) the reflexes of the CS **ě* in long syllables. The reflexes of long *ě̄* in the Slovene dialects of today point to an early *ě* isogloss of a narrow vs. open variety of the long *ě̄* which, by and large, agrees with the isogloss open vs. narrow reflexes of the denasalized vowels. The evolution of the narrower reflexes of long *ě̄* in one part of the Slovene dialects (with *ę*, *ię*, *i* in the NW dialects of the Carinthian and Littoral area), and its open reflexes in the other (with *ei̯*, *ai̯* in the Lower Carniola, Styria, and Pannonia dialectal base), once again divides the Slovene speech territory into a *Northwest* vs. a *Southeast* part;

(3) the reflexes of the lengthening process of both the non-final shortened old rising syllables (of the type **kràva*, **bràt*, **bràta*) and of the old short rising accent (of the type **vòl'a*, 3 sg. **nòsi*). The reflexes of the new long vowels in these two positions indicate that this quantitative change took place earlier in the southwestern than in the northeastern dialects. However, it never reached the extreme periphery of the Slovene dialects in the north. The isoglosses of earlier or later lengthening of the short rising accent vs. no such lengthening introduces a new configuration of dialect grouping of the Slovene speech area: *Southwest* vs. *Northeast*;

(4) the reflexes of ə̄ in long syllables. The present-day isogloss of the reflexes of ə, the continuant of the CS *jers*, in the new long syllables is *ā* in the Western and Central dialects and *ē* in the Carinthian, Styrian, and Pannonian dialects. This isogloss follows by and large the line separating the areas of the earlier vs. later lengthening of the non-final short rising accent. The split in the evolution of the ə̄ in long syllables, which started at the time of the earliest lengthenings in the language (of the type **dьnь* > *dən*), resulted in today's opposition *dân* (*Southwest*) vs. *dên* (*Northeast*) only much later;

(5) the liquidation of prosodic features of pitch and quantity, an innovation with two concave isoglosses curving into the northeast and southwest directions, into the main body of the Slovene speech area (see Figure 25);

(6) the reflexes of vowels whose evolution in the dialects was regulated by quantity; the degree and the extent of diphthongization and monophthongization of long vowels (in particular *ē* and *ō*) and the degree and extent of the impact of the modern vowel reduction on sounds in short syllables; and

(7) the isoglosses of the so-called "secondary" and the "tertiary" accent retractions in the dialects, viz. the accent retraction in the types *žȅnȁ*, *gorȁ*; *zelȅn*, *bogȁt*; *məglȁ*, *təmȁn*; and the extent of the retraction in the type *okô* > *ȍko*.

From the differential features of consonants, generally much less systematic and uniform during the evolution of Slovene, an additional seven characteristic traits will be added to our system of classification, viz.:

(8) the extent of evolution of the CS **tl*, **dl* clusters;

(9) the reflexes of CS **t'* > *ć* vs. *č*;

(10) the reflexes of the CS clusters **zd'*, **zg'* > *ždž* vs. *ž* (*žj*), and **st'*, **sk'* > *šč* vs. *š*;

(11) the extent of the *g* > γ > *h* > *#* changes;

(12) the reflexes of the CS velar **ł* in both word-final and preconsonantal positions, as well as in the position before back vowels;

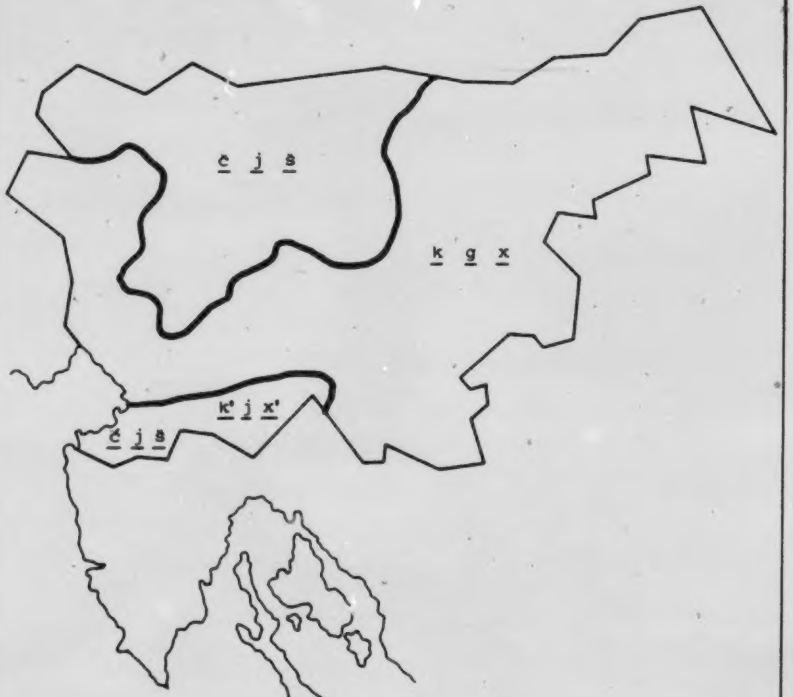


Figure 24. SECONDARY PALATALIZATION OF VELARS IN SLOVENE

The secondary (Slovene) palatalization of velars *k*, *g*, *x* to *č*, *j*, *š* occurred before *e* and *i* of Slovene provenience, i.e. *e* < CS **e*, **ę*, **ě*, and in Carinthia from a *ǫ* also; and *i* < CS *i* and *y*. Its reflexes can be found in the Carinthia *č*, *j*, *š*; Upper Carniola *č*, *j*, *š*; some Rovte (e.g. Tolmin *č*, *j*, *š*; Črni vrh *ȧk*, *ȧg*, *ȧx*); South Notranjsko *k'*, *j*, *x'*; and Slovene Istria dialects (*č*, *j*, *š*).

For example, for CSS *roke* (nom. pl.), *noge*, *muhe*, *orehi*, *kisel* (adj.), *sekirica*, *hišica*, one finds in Upper Carniola *rọče*, *noję*, *múše*, *orẹ̑š*, *čísu*, *ščíra*, *šíšca*; in Rož (Carinthia) *rọ̑če*, *nọ̑je*, *múše*; in Tolmin and Cerkno *ráče* and *račíe*, *nåje* and *najíe*, *ščíra* , *na wórše* (CSS *na vrhu*); in South Notranjsko *rak'íe*, *najíe*, *múx'íe*; and in the Slovene Istrian dialects *čȳxat* (CSS *kuhati*), *nȏje*, *ɣríeše* (CSS *grehe*, acc. pl.).

(13) the extent of the so-called "secondary" palatalization of velars *k*, *g*, *x* to *č*, *j*, *š* or similar sounds; and

(14) the reflexes of the CS palatal **l'* and **n'* in the individual dialects.

We will also consider a number of other distinctive properties, typical for individual dialectal areas but less widespread, concerning archaisms and innovations in the lexicon, and the character and extent of linguistic interferences. Linguistically variegated as all such differences may be, and kaleidoscopic as their cummulative assemblages in fact are, they still represent one and the same language, that is, Slovene.

THE CARINTHIA DIALECTAL BASE The dialects of Carinthia represent the northern sector of the linguistically peripheral Northwestern dialects of Slovene. Essentially stationary and tangential to the main stream of change, these dialects are relatively conservative in their evolution. Separated by political boundaries and cut off by a natural barrier to intercommunication with the rest of the Slovene speech area on the south, they have been exposed to the pressure of German colonization from the north. As in the peripheral areas of every language, the dialects of the Carinthian base have retained quite a few archaisms and developed a number of innovations.

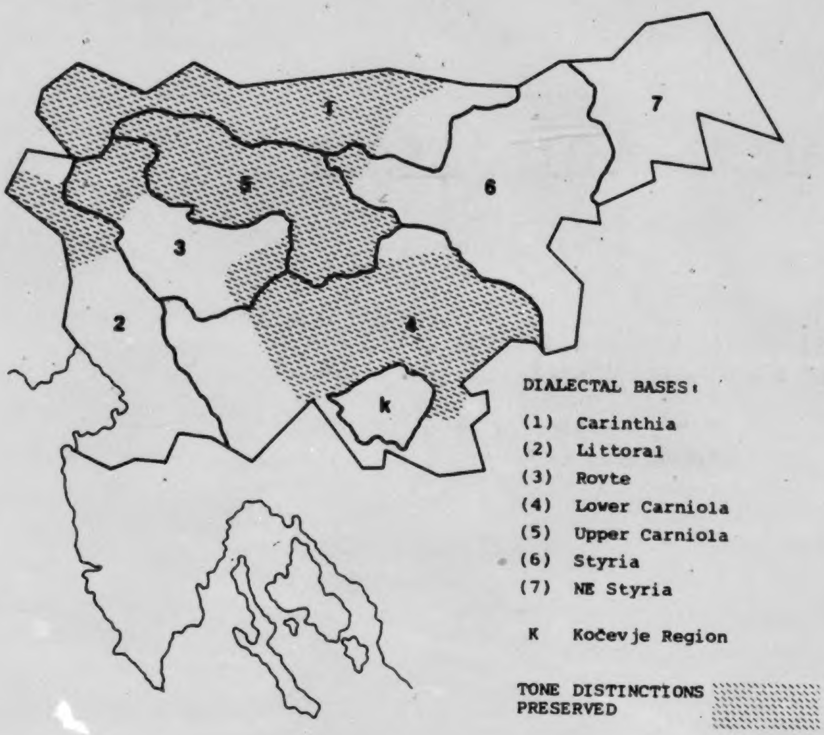
In prosody, the more conservative Carinthian dialects (in fact, all but the dialects of Meža and Remšenik), retained phonemic quantity and pitch in long syllables, and those that possessed the relatively recent retraction of the type *okȏ* > *ȍko* developed pitch oppositions in short syllables as well; these dialects have four accents: /´ ˆ ` ̏/. In Carinthia, the accentual shift *okȏ* > *ȍko* has two separate radiation centers: one in the Zilja and one in the Podjuna-Meža region; they are both linked with areas in the neighboring dialectal bases of the Littoral and Styria which also possess this shift; e.g., Rož *ȍqə* for the CSS *okȏ* and *mə̀sə* for *mesȏ*. The retractions of the type *ženȁ*, *gorȁ*, and *məglȁ* are known only to some of the Carinthian dialects; thus, for example, we find them in Zilja, although without a lengthening of the retracted accent. They are absent in the dialect of Rož, e.g., Zilja *žę̀ana*, *gǫ̀ara*, *mə̀gwa* vs. Rož *žanȁ*, *horȁ*, *məhwȁ* and *mə̏hwa*.

The Carinthian vowel system is generally characterized by the common Slovene tendencies of diphthongization with subsequent monophthongization of long vowels (*ē* > *ie*, *i*ə, and *ī*; *ō* > *uo*, *u*ə and *ū*); and the reduction and assimilation of vowels in short syllables. The Carinthian modern vowel reduction is already in an advanced stage, e.g., Rož *qrȅx* for CSS *kruh*, *tríbx̀* for *trebuh* and *lopô* for *lepo*. The old nasals **ę* and **ǫ* in general are represented by open *ę* and *ǫ* (e.g., Zilja *pę̂t*, *zǫ̂b*), although they are still preserved in the dialect of Podjuna, e.g., *pę̑t*, *zǫ̂b*, and partially in Zilja and Rož, e.g., *srȅnča* for **sręt'ja*, CSS *sreča*. For the long *ě* one finds in Carinthia a diphthongal *i*ə, e.g., Zilja *lîəp* for CSS *lẹp*; and for the early lengthened *ō* an *u*ə, e.g., Rož *bûəx* for *bọg*. The reflexes of the old *jers* are *ę̄* in long and ə in short syllables, e.g., Rož *dę̂n*, *vę̂s*, *pə̏s*, *də̏ž*, for CSS *dan*, *vas*, *pəs*, *dəž*.

Among the most typical peculiarities in the consonantal system of the Carinthian dialects is the preservation of the old clusters **tl* and **dl*, e.g., in the Zilja dialect *krìdwo* for CSS *krilo*, *ję̂dwa* for *jela* 'fir-tree'; a higher frequency of both clusters in the -*l*- participles of the type *padla* (fem. sg.); a general change of the original velar *ł* to *w* in all positions, e.g., Rož *hwáwa* for CSS *glava*, *pəršwá* for *prišla*; the preservation of *c*, *z*, *s* resulting from the old CS second palatalization, e.g., Zilja, *róce* (dat. loc. sg.), *bwâzę* (loc. sg.); the preservation of the initial cluster *čr*- in *črě*- group, e.g., Rož *črîəšňa* for *črešnja*; and the depalatalization of *l'* and preservation of the palatal *n'*.

Some consonantal characteristics are not shared by all Carinthian dialects, e.g., the *g* > *h* (via γ) change, known mostly to its western dialects; the laryngealization of *k* > *q* in Rož, e.g., *qrâl* for CSS *kralj*; the spirantization of the word-final occlusives *b* and *d* in Rož and Podjuna, e.g., Rož *zôφ* for CSS *zob*, *zȉθ* for *zid*, Podjuna *zôf*, *zȉθ*; the preservation of the *šč* cluster in the west, e.g., Zilja and Rož *gošča*, *ogńišče*, and its simplification to *š* elsewhere.

In general, the Carinthian dialects abound in archaisms. Here, for instance, the prefix *vy*- has been preserved, e.g., Zilja *bȉwaž* < **vylazъ* 'spring,' Podjuna *vìgrat*, and the contracted forms of possessive pronouns are still used, e.g., Zilja *twâ* for *tvoja*, *mwâmo* for *mojemu* (dat. loc. sg.). On the other hand, the innovations produced by German


1
7
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k
DIALECTAL BASES:
(1) Carinthia
(2) Littoral
(3) Rovte
(4) Lower Carniola
(5) Upper Carniola
(6) Styria
(7) NE Styria
K Kočevje Region
TONE DISTINCTIONS PRESERVED ▨

Figure 25. SLOVENE DIALECTAL BASES

The post-Ramovš research in Slovene dialectology (T. Logar, J. Rigler) produced several corrections of dialectal boundaries in this map, two of which concern the boundaries of dialectal bases. One relates to a westward broadening of the Lower Carniolan dialectal basis: its western dialect of Notranjsko has been found to extend across the Kras north and south of Trieste up to the Adriatic Sea. The other concerns the former region of Kočevsko in Lower Carniola which was colonized by speakers from different dialectal bases after 1945 and today represents a typical dialectally-mixed area.

linguistic interference, felt at almost every level of phonetics, grammar, syntax, and lexicon, profoundly changed their original Slovene character.

THE LITTORAL DIALECTAL BASE The dialects of the Slovene Littoral base form today a rather unhomogeneous geolinguistic unit. The regions west of the Soča River continue the Northwestern dialects and are marked off from the rest of the area by a bundle of isoglosses aligned in a northwestern direction. On the other hand, the regions east and south of the Soča River, which have never been cut off entirely from communication with the rest of the Slovene lands, share many innovations with common Slovene evolution. The western dialects have been peripheral from the very first settlement of Slavs along the limes of the Rhaeto-Romance dialects. This linguistic boundary, surprisingly stable through centuries, however, could not prevent a deep structural interference of the Romance dialects on a Slavic language in language and speaking.

Prosodically, most of the dialects of the Littoral area, including Rezija, have only distinctive stress. The dialects of Venetian Slovenia, however, retain phonemic pitch and quantity. As to the accent shifts, the Rezija, Ter and Nadiža dialects preserved the old oxytonal patterns *ženȁ*, *gorȁ*, *məglȁ*; e.g., Nadiža *ženȁ*, *horȁ*, *mahlȁ*; and Rezija and Ter retracted the old long circumflex of the type *okȏ*, yielding *ȍko*, which we found in Carinthia. All other dialects of the Littoral base possess the accentual patterns of the literary standard and have retractions of the types *bogȁt* and *məglȁ*, e.g., Brda, Kras *bǫ̏γat*, *pǫ̌sten*, *mǫ̏γla* ∿ *mə̏γla*.

The vowel system in the dialects of the region is not uniform. Common to all is the tendency to diphthongize and subsequently monophthongize the long, and to shorten and reduce the short vowels. The vowel reduction drift, however, is not evenly represented; it is relatively weak in the dialects north and west of the Soča River, but strong in the regions in contact with the Rovte and Central dialects.

In relation to individual isoglosses, one deserves special attention: the isogloss of the reflexes of the old nasals. In general, one finds in Kras the basically narrower reflexes *ię̣* and *u* for CS *ę and *ǫ, and more open values, *ȧ* and *ǫ*, in the northwestern dialects of the region. An island of open reflexes of old nasals has been preserved in the Western Kras and on the left bank of the Soča River; e.g., *piẹ̑t*, *zȗp* in Kras, and *pȃt*, *zọ̑p* in Western Kras and Brda, for CSS *pet*, *zob*. The narrow nasal reflexes of the CS *ę and *ǫ found in Rezija and Ter, seem to have resulted from individual evolutions.

In the Littoral dialects the old long *ě* and *ō* became narrow *ię* ∿ *ẹ̄* and *ū* ∿ *uo* ∿ *ọ̄*, e.g., Kras *liẹ̑p*, *γriẹ̑x*, *bȗx*, *kȕoža*; Western Kras, Brda *lẹ̑p*, *γrẹ̑x*, *bọ̑x*, *kọ̑ža*; Rezija *lȋp*, *hrȋh*; and Ter *buȍx*, *kuȍža*. The continuant of the old *jers* underwent the following development in the Littoral: it became an *ā* in the originally lengthened syllables, and an *a* or a reduced *ạ* in short syllables; e.g., *dȃn* everywhere, however, *dȁš*, *stazȁ* in the Venetian dialects, *dẹ̏š*, *stạ̏za* in Brda and Kras. The differentiation of the reflex of *jers* in Brda and Kras, *ę* vs. *ạ*, is dictated by whether the following consonant is hard or soft, a feature known to the neighboring dialects of Rovte and Lower Carniola as well.

There are several consonantal features which characterize the Littoral area dialects in general: the velar *ł* > *w* change in the extent known in CSS, the *g* > γ change as found in Carinthia, and the retention of the palatal sounds *ć*, *šć*, *l'*, *n'*, cf. Kras *nȗć* for CSS *noč*, *košćiə̑n* for *koščen*, *krȃl'* for *kralj*, *kȍn'* for *konj*. The Rezija dialects underwent some deviating evolutions; here the velar *ł* gave *l*, e.g., *bȋl* for CSS *bel* /*bẹ́w*/ (adj.) and *g* > *h* > #, e.g., *bogȁt* > *bohȁt* > *boȁt* > *bȁt*. All the dialects of the Littoral area have the final *-m* > *-n* change, e.g., Kras *muuȏren* for CSS *morem*, Ter *mán* for *imam*. Those on the westernmost periphery have also a *l'* > *j* change, e.g., Ter *kráj* for *kralj*.

The archaic dialects of the Littoral area still use the prefix *vy-*, e.g., Ter *vȋlažiń* 'spring,' and the contracted forms of possessive pronouns, e.g., Rezija and Ter fem. sg. *mȃ* < *moja*, gen. sg. *ḿȋha* < *měga* < *mojega*. In Rezija the imperfect tense is still used, e.g., *pridȇah* and *pridȇh* (1 sg.), *vȋter pỹhaše* 'the wind was blowing' while in Ter and Rezija a future tense pattern, *xъt'ǫ* + infinitive, is known, e.g., Ter *ćam-prȋtь* 'I shall come.' Finally, very old and progressively stronger are the Rhaeto-Romance and Italian cultural influences which permeated those Slovene dialects in contact with them with multiple interference phenomena.

Among the archaic dialects of this area, those of Rezija were originally part of the Carinthia dialectal base; becoming isolated from Carinthia and subsequently from all other Slovene dialects, they developed, particularly after the fourteenth century, a number of features which deviated from any other Slovene evolution. They were made known in Slavic linguistics by Jan Baudouin de Courtenay's description of these dialects. Baudouin saw two such features as unique evolutions in the family of Slavic languages: the presence of a category of "breathy" vowels ("dark" or "muffled" in Baudouin's terminology, German *lufterfüllt*), standing in opposition to the "normal" - clear vowels, e.g., *člǫvẹ̑k*, *dẹ̑lǫ*; and a "vowel-harmony" tendency in the frame of a phonological word, (e.g., *žanȁ*, *sastrȁ*, *kazȁ*, (nom. sg.) vs. *žinȉ*, *sestrȉ*, *kuzȉ* (gen. pl.). The latter feature was later described as a vowel assimilation stage in the vowel reduction process, which was implemented in various degrees, in different Slovene dialects. Two other interesting features of the Rezija dialects are the preservation of both simple past tenses, aorist and imperfect, and the use of the vigesimal system in counting, based on the number twenty, e.g., *dwákrat dwúịsti anu dẹ́sat* = 2 x 20 + 10 = 50.

THE ROVTE DIALECTAL BASE The Rovte dialectal base is perhaps one of the least homogeneous of the Slovene dialectal areas. The name Rovte, derived from the Germ. dial. *Reute* (fem.) 'clearing,' refers to the subalpine mountainous zone along and above the rivers and rivulets of Koritnica, Bača, Idrijca, Selška and Poljanska Sora, cleared and settled first by a Slovene population and later by Bavarian colonists. Strongly influenced by the process of linguistic fusion, the dialects of Rovte seem to represent a classic example of a non-original and essentially transitional dialectal group in Slovene.

Prosodically, except for the dialects of the Upper Soča and of Horjulj, which have retained pitch and quantity, all the dialects of the Rovte base lost their phonemic pitch; however, most of them have distinctive quantity and stress (e.g., Tolmin, Idrija, Cerkno, Črni vrh). The accent retraction of the type *ženȁ*, *gorȁ*, *məglȁ* is general in all dialects, e.g., Črni vrh *žẹ́na*, *γọ́ra*, *mȁγla*. The retraction of the type *okȍ* > *òko*, though, is known only to the Poljane and Črni vrh dialects, e.g., *ȁku* < *okô*, *mẹ̏su* < *mesô*.

Long vowels in the Rovte dialects became diphthongs (e.g., in Poljane and Tolmin *i͡ẹ*, *u͡ọ*; in Cerkno short diphthongs *ei̯*, *ou̯*), or have been monophthongized (e.g., in Horjulj /*ẹ̄*/, /*ọ̄*/). Thus the reflexes of the long *ě* tend to be narrow; for instance, in Logatec /*ẹ̄*/ (e.g., *lẹ̑s* for **lěsъ*, *svẹ̄t* for **světъ*), in Škofja Loka /*ě̄*/ (e.g., *lě̄s*, *svě̄t*), in Cerkno /*i*/ (e.g., *lȋs*, *svȋt*). Everywhere but for the dialect of Horjulj, short vowels are subjected to vowel reduction, similar to the modern vowel reduction of the Central dialects. The dialect of Horjulj, on the other hand, developed strong akanje (e.g., *snȁp* for CSS *snop*, *kabȋla* for *kobila*), and vowel reduction tendencies resembling the vowel reduction found in Russian (e.g., *lẹ̑d* : *lidȗ* for CSS *led* : *ledu*, *kọ̑st* : *kastȋ* for *kost* : *kosti*). Akanje is known to some other areas of this base as well; thus in Cerkno every short /*o*/, stressed or unstressed, changed to /*a*/ (e.g., *lȉta* for CSS *leto*, *γȁra* for *gora*). As a rule, the reflexes of /ə/ in Rovte dialects tend to be polarized between an *ọ* or *ẹ*; in some other dialects, however, /ə/ changes to /*o*/; e.g., in Cerkno: *pọ̏s* for CSS *pəs*, *tọ̏ma* for *təma*.

The consonantal system of the Rovte base underwent the velar *ł* > *w* change in the same extent as CSS, except for the dialect of Horjulj and Črni vrh were *ł* before a back vowel retained its velar pronunciation. All the dialects of the Rovte base know the *g* > γ change and most of them have an *l'* > *i̯l*, and *n'* > *i̯n* change (e.g., *krái̯l*, *kȁi̯n* for CSS *kralj*, *konj*), or even an -*i̯n* to -*ĩ̯* change (e.g., Logatec *kȍĩ̯* for CSS *konj*). Everywhere but in the Tolmin dialect one finds a *šč* > *š* assimilation. The secondary palatalization is known almost everywhere in the region, e.g., Cerkno *račȉẹ*, *drȗje*, *na wȍrše* for CSS *roke*, *druge*, *na vrhu* Unlike other dialectal areas, the dialects of Rovte do not know the positional neutralization of final voiced consonants.

In some dialects of the Rovte base, the prefix *vy*- is still known; e.g., Tolmin possesses a *bə*- version, and most of the dialects underwent the *masculinization* of neuter gender nouns, e.g., Črni vrh, Logatec, Horjulj, *lẹ̑t* for *leto*, *dọ̑br̥* for *dobro*.

THE SLOVENE CENTRAL DIALECTS Both of the central dialects of Slovene, Upper Carniolan (*gorenjski dialekt*) and Lower Carniolan (*dolenjski dialekt*), have been for centuries central to Slovene geographically as well as linguistically in the sense that most of the historical innovations of the Slovene language which originated on the Slovene speech territory radiated from here to the adjoining dialects of Styria and the Littoral. Most of these innovations, to be sure, have not overlapped, and many might have sometimes even drifted off in different directions. They did have one thing in common, however: they were centrifugal, a fact which, since the time the Central dialects became encoded, helped to make a number of their features become all-Slovene.

THE UPPER CARNIOLA DIALECTAL BASE Most of the Upper Carniola dialects have distinctive pitch and quantity (rising and falling accent in long, stress alone in short syllables). This situation is shared by most of the dialects of Lower Carniola, Carinthia, and the dialect of Horjulj in the Rovte region. The Upper Carniola dialects participated in accent retractions of the type *ženȁ*, but not, however, of the types *bogȁt* and *məglȁ*. The *okô* > *ȍko* shift, of course, is not known to the Central dialects.

The vowel system of the Upper Carniola dialects is characterized by monophthongal reflexes of *e* and *o* in long syllables. The reflex of the long ē̌ is ẹ̄, e.g., *dẹ̄wam* for *delam*; the reflex of the old nasals are ẹ̄ and ọ̄, e.g., *pẹ̄t*, *guwọ̄f* for CSS *pet*, *golob*. Thus the old long *ě, *ę and *ǫ, the early lengthened *e* and *o* (e.g., in *pẹ̑č*, *mọ̑st*, *ọ́kna*, nom. pl.) and all internal *e* and *o* sounds under short rising accent which must have been lengthened here by the end of the fourteenth century (e.g., in nom. pl. *rẹ́bra*, *vọ́la*), are narrow monophthongal ẹ and ọ sounds. The *e* and *o* in the *ženȁ*, *gorȁ* type accentuation, on the other hand, remained open as ę̄ and ǭ, e.g., *žę́na*, *gǫ́ra*. The reflex of the long ə̄ is *a*, and in short syllables ə, e.g., *dȃn*, *pə̏s*, *sə̏n*. In the Upper Carniola dialects the vowel reduction is strong; every short high vowel in the system changed, including the ə, which tends to be reduced qualitatively to 'zero,' e.g., *dǫ́st* for CSS *dosti*, *kǫ́nc* for *konec*, *nə̏t* for *nit*, and *brȅt* for *brat*.

The most general typical consonantal features of the Upper Carniola dialectal base are the change of the velar *ł* before all back vowels to *w*, e.g., *mášwo* for CSS *maslo*, *gwáwa* for *glava*, *mwȃd* for *mlad*; the hardening of the palatal *l'* and *n'* to *l* and *n*, e.g., *wȏla*, *kȍn*; the appearance of secondary *dl*, *tl* clusters in the *-l-* participle forms of the type *padla* (fem. sg.), e.g., *pádwa*, *ráswa* for CSS *padla* and *pala*, *rastla* and *rasla*; the assimilation *šč* > *š*, e.g., *klẹ́še* for *klešče*, *tȃša* for *tašča*, *ȋšem* for *iščem* and the *čre-*, *žre-* > *če-*, *že-* change, e.g., *čẹ̌šn'a* for CSS *črešnja*, *žbę̏*, *žbẹ́ta* (gen. sg.) for *žrẹbe*, *žrebeta.* Among the typical consonantal features which are not general, one is significant: the secondary palatalization of *k*, *g*, *x* before the front vowels *i* and *e* to *č*, *j*, *š*, which is characteristic for the entire northwestern part of the dialectal area, e.g., *čẹ̌tna* < *ketna*, *nojệ* < *noge*, *mŭše* < *muxe*.

A more or less general feature of the Upper Carniola dialectal base is the so-called *masculinization* of neuter nouns, e.g., *kusȋw* for CSS *kosilo*, *wȃnsk lét* for *lansko leto*, *sȗx mesọ̑* for *suho meso*.

THE LOWER CARNIOLA DIALECTAL BASE The Lower Carniola dialectal base, consisting of a broad range of dialects south of Ljubljana, which extend roughly between the Sava River on the north, the ridge of Gorjanci and the Kolpa River on the east, and the Trieste plateau on the west, is one of the least homogeneous dialectal areas of contemporary Slovene. Consisting of three larger units, Lower Carniola proper, Bela Krajina, and Notranjsko, each of which underwent individual and separate evolutions at different times in the past, it is still characterized by a number of common features and tendencies.

Prosodically, the dialects of Lower Carniola proper (the Central, the eastern, and the dialect along the Sava River), and the two dialects of Bela Krajina (its northern, and one of the central dialects), display pitch and quantity: rising and falling accent in long, and stress in short syllables. Elsewhere, phonemic pitch and quantity have been lost; e.g., the southern Bela Krajina and Notranjsko dialects have only distinctive stress. As to the accent shifts, the dialects of Lower Carniola proper have the *ženȁ* > *žêna*, and *bogȁt* > *bọ́gat* type of retraction, but no shift in the *məglȁ* and *təmə̏n* type. This situation represents the accentuation encoded in CSS. The rest of the Lower Carniola area, Notranjsko, Bela Krajina, Medija, and the dialect along the Sava River, have retractions in both patterns; e.g., Notranjsko *žẹ̑na*, *γọ̑ra*, *bọ̑γat*; *mə̏γla*, *tə̏mən*.

One basic characteristic of the Lower Carniola vowel system is a marked tendency to diphthongize long vowels, particularly the *e* and *o* of the mid-series; their reflexes are the diphthongs of the *ei̯*, *ie*, *ea*, and *uo*, *ua*, *oa* range. The typical reflex of the old long *ě* is here a relatively open *ei̯* dipthong, e.g., *dei̯lam* < *dě̄lam* ; the reflexes of the old nasals are relatively narrow *ie* and *uo* diphthongs, e.g., *pię̑t*, *zûop*, *galûop*; the reflexes of the early lengthened *e* and *o* are *ȉe* and *u*, e.g., *pȉeč*, *mûst*, nom. pl. *úkna*; the reflexes of the lengthened *e* and *o* in internal syllables under short rising accent are *íę* and *úǫ*, e.g., *ríębra* (nom. pl.), *vúǫlă*; and the reflexes of the *e* and *o* in the *ženȁ*, *gorȁ* type of retractions are *ię̯*, *e̯a* and *o*, *u̯a*, e.g., West Dolenjsko *žię̀na*, *gu̯àra*. One of the most interesting aspects of these Lower Carniola accentual types are the /*ȉe*/ vs. /*íe*/ and the /*u*/ vs. /*úǫ*/ oppositions marking the difference between an early long vs. a later lengthened internal short rising mid-vowel. These oppositions serve to establish the relative chronology of the quantitative-qualitative changes in the Slovene vowel system.

The Lower Carniola dialects know both types of vowel reduction, the compact-diffuse, as well as the tense-lax type. The former mainly affects only the short high vowels *i*, *u*, and *ĕ*, changing them to ə, and is weaker than the compact-diffuse type reduction in the Upper Carniola dialectal base; we find in Lower Carniola *sə̏t* for CSS *sit*, *patərpȉ* for *potrpi*. The latter type, leading vowels from tenseness to laxness, very strongly characterizes several Lower Carniola dialects and produces different kinds of qualitative changes in their systems. One such typical Lower Carniola change is *akanje*, the neutralization of *o* and *a* in short, stressed or unstressed syllables, which appears in several forms and degrees; e.g., *atrȁk* for CSS *otrok*, *kakûš* for *kokoš*, *gaspût* for *gospod*. Some other dialects change every pretonic *o* to *u*, e.g., *ukû* for CSS *oko*, *kukûš* for *kokoš*, and elsewhere, in most of the Dolenjsko and Notranjsko dialects, the final *-o* of the acc. sg. neuter gender forms changes to *-u*; e.g., *mlȇi̯ku* for CSS *mlȇko*, *ləkhȕ* for *lahko*, *jûtru* for *jûtro*, *dnȕ* for *dno*.

Among the Lower Carniola consonantal features the following are the most representative: the old velar *ł* before back vowels has, in most dialects, a 'middle' *l* quality, e.g., *gláwa*, *mlâd*, *mâla* (in the western regions of Dolenjsko, however, *głáwa*); the old palatal *l'* generally changes to *l*, e.g., *vúolä*; the old palatal *n'* changes either to *i̯n* or to *i̯* ∼ *ī̯*, e.g., for the CSS *konj*, *konja* (gen. sg.) one finds in the dialects *kȁi̯n*, *ku̯ȍi̯ne*; *kȕoi̯*, *kúoī̯e*, or *kȕoi̯*, *ku̯ài̯e*. There are no secondary *dl*, *tl* clusters in the *l*- participle forms of the type *padla* in the Lower

Carniola dialects, e.g., *pala*, *rasla*; and no assimilation of the *šč* cluster as in CSS, e.g., *klešče*, *tašča*, *iščem*.

There is no uniformity in the treatment of consonantal features either in the Lower Carniola dialects. Dolenjsko proper and Bela Krajina have the velar occlusive *g*; Notranjsko, however, has γ, e.g., *γlâva*, *γrâd* vs. *glava*, *grad*. Some of the Notranjsko dialects have preserved the *ć*, *šć* palatals, which link them with the Kras dialect of the Littoral group. The Dolenjsko proper dialect has also a more or less general *čre-* > *če-* and *žre-* > *že-* change, e.g., *čéi̯šna*, as in CSS, but *čr-* and *žr-* can be found locally here as well as in Notranjsko, e.g., *čréi̯šna*. An example of an isolated yet repetitive phenomenon in the Central dialects is the occurrence of the secondary palatalization of *k*, *g*, *x* before the dialectal *i*, *y*, *e* into *k'*, *j*, *x'*, found in Southern Notranjsko, e.g., *rak'îə*, *najîə*, *x'îtru* for CSS *roke*, *noge*, *hitro*.

THE STYRIA DIALECTAL BASE The Styria dialectal base covers a large part of the Slovene speech territory east of Carinthia and the Upper Carniola dialects, and is bounded on the east by a line joining the eastern slopes of the Kozjak, the Drava River, and the Haloze mountains. Some features which characterize the Styrian dialects have their radiation center either in Carinthia or in the Central dialects with which they have been linked through centuries; a number of such features represent relatively important innovations in the evolution of contemporary standard Slovene. Devoid of any significant geographical barrier in the east, the Styrian were also the first Slovene dialects to participate in the innovations that have progressed from the continuum across the Kajkavian-Slovene dialectal boundary.

Prosodic features. Having lost phonemic pitch and quantity, most of the dialects of the Styria dialectal base have today only distinctive stress. They all participated in the stress retraction of the *žena̋*, *gora̋*, *zele̋n*, *boga̋t*, *məgla̋*, *təmə̋n* types, which produced in this base a rather uniform accentual pattern. All Styrian dialects also exhibit a strong tendency to generalize the retraction of accent in the *okô* > *ȍko* type.

The vowel system of the Styrian dialectal base followed the same common Slovene evolutionary tendencies: diphthongization in the long, and vowel reduction in the short syllables. The latter, of the *compact* > *diffuse* type as in Upper Carniola, is stronger in the Savinja dialect.

The Styria reflexes of the old CS *jers*, however, are different from the reflexes in the central dialects. In the main, one finds here in long syllables — one single reflex *ẹ̑* which sometimes further diphthongized into *ię* (e.g., Savinja *dę̑n*, *mę̑x*, Central Styria *diȇn*, *miȇx*); in short syllables — an open *ę*. On the other hand, the reflexes of the old long *ě*, *ę* and *ǫ*, and of the early lengthened *ȇ* and *ȏ*, are not uniform in today's Styria dialects. The Upper Savinja monophthongal reflexes of these sounds, *ę̑* and *ǫ̑*, continuing, as it were, the Upper Carniola monophthongs, are by and large opposed to the diphthongs one finds elsewhere in Styria. E.g., for the old long *ě̄*: Upper Savinja *lę̑p*, *slę̑p*, *rę̑s* vs. Central Styria *lę̑i̯p*, *slę̑i̯p*, *rę̑i̯s*, and Pohorje *lȃi̯p*, *slȃi̯p*, *rȃi̯s*. One finds the same duality in the reflexes of the old long nasals, e.g.: *zǫ̑p*, *srę̑ča* vs. *zȏu̯p*, *srȅi̯ča*. There is an additional feature characterizing a larger part of Styrian dialects: in the Savinja-Central Styria-Pohorje-Kozjak belt of dialects, long *ā* appears to be velarized to a^{o} and further changed to /o/, e.g., Savinja *slǫ̑ma*, *hlǫ̑če* for CSS *slama*, *hlače*.

Among the distinctive characteristics of the consonantal system of the Styrian dialectal area can be cited the *l'* > *l* and *n'* > *ĩ̯* change, e.g., for Central Styria *krȃl*, *kȏĩ̯* for CSS *kralj*, *konj*; both palatal sounds, though, are preserved in the Upper Savinja dialect; *šč* > *š*; *r̥* > *ȁr*, *ȃr* (e.g., Savinja *obȃrvi* for CSS *obrvȋ*); preservation of the cluster *čr* in groups *čre-*, *žre-* (e.g., *črevo* as in CSS). In addition, the dialects of Savinja and Pohorje-Kozjak preserved the form *modliti* with *dl* cluster and *dl* clusters in *l-* participle forms of the *padla* type forms.

The Central Styria dialect and the Bizeljsko-Sotla dialect developed the instrumental singular feminine desinence *-oi̯*, e.g. *z rokȏi̯* vs. CSS *z roko*, a desinence shared with Kajkavian. Two other features, typical for several Styrian dialects, are the so-called *masculinization* of neuter nouns in the Central Styria and Savinja dialects, e.g., Savinja *en wạ̑kŋ*, *mlȇk*, for CSS *eno okno*, *mleko*; and the so-called *femininization* of the neuter nouns in the Pohorje-Kozjak dialect, e.g., *ena wȁkna*, *jȁbuka* for CSS *eno okno*, *jabolko*.

THE PANNONIA DIALECTAL BASE The Pannonian dialectal base and the Eastern Sytria dialects on both sides of the Mura River, are again typically peripheral dialectal areas. The regions on the left bank of the Mura must have been part of the Slavic linguistic continuum in southern Pannonia; later they came under the Hungarian crown and were joined to other Slovene lands only in 1918. The region between the Mura and Drava Rivers, on the other hand, was colonized by a Slovene population only later, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Linguistically, the Pannonian dialects developed quite a few innovations which reached beyond the Slovene-Kajkavian dialectal boundary.

Prosodic System. Most of the dialects of the Pannonian dialectal base know only stress. Quantity oppositions do exist but they are rare, e.g., Prlekija *brȁt* 'brother' vs. *brât* 'gather' (sup.). Most of the dialects of this area (the exception being the dialects of the Slovenske gorice and Prekmurje) did not lengthen the internal short-rising accents as occurred elsewhere in Slovene, thus *brȁt*, *brȁta* (gen. sg.), *vȍla* (for CSS *volja*). The dialects of this base know the retraction of the type *ženà*, *gorà*, *zelȅn*, *bogȁt*, *məglȁ*, *təmə̀n* and the retracted accent is normally short, e.g., Prlekija *žȅna*, *gȍra*, *mȅgla*. Almost everywhere one finds a strong tendency for accent retraction in the type *okô* > *ȍko*; the accent here (although often analogical) is mostly long, e.g., Prlekija *ȍko*, *zlâto*; Prekmurje *golȍu̯p*.

The vowel system of this dialectal base possesses, like other Slovene dialects, diphthongization and vowel reduction tendencies. The diphthongs in most of the dialects of the area, however, are short, e.g., *ei̯*, *ai̯*, *au̯*, *ou̯*, and the vowel reduction shows a minimal incipient level, e.g., Prekmurje *kr̥vȉca* for CSS *krivica*, *razmȅti̯* and *razmȉti̯* for *razumeti*. A number of dialects of the area exhibit a tendency for vowel assimilation as well, similar to the "vowel harmony" observed in the Rezija dialects, e.g., Prekmurje *sü̑rmak* for CSS *siromak*.

The old long *ē* is represented by *ei̯* in the Pannonian dialects, e.g., Prekmurje *brȅi̯k*, *lèi̯p*, *slèi̯p* for CSS *breg*, *lep*, *slep*; the old *jers* in long syllables by *ẹ̄*, e.g., Prekmurje *dện*, *mệx*. A stressed *u* regularly changed to *ü*, e.g., Prelekija *dü̂ša*, *krü̏x* for CSS *duša*, *kruh*; and an unstressed */u/* changed to */i/*, e.g., *lidjȇ* for CSS *ljudje*.

There is little homogeneity in the evolution of consonantal features in the Pannonian dialects. The old palatal *l'* and *n'* have the same reflexes here as in Styria; e.g., Prlekija *krâl*, *kü̏j*, *kü̏i̯a* (gen.) for CSS *kralj*, *konj*, *konja*. In Prekmurje the old palatal *n'* survived, e.g., *kǫ̏n'*; elsewhere, it hardened in final position, e.g., Prlekija *ȍgen*, *ȍgj̃a* (gen. sg.) for CSS *ogenj*, *ognja*. On the other hand, the old palatal *r'* in Prekmurje hardened in all positions, e.g., *cȁsar*, *casȁra* (gen. sg.) for CSS *cesar*, *cesarja*. Prlekija and Prekmurje, among other features, also retained the *šč* cluster, e.g., *peščȉca*, and developed the *-m* > *-n* change, e.g., Prlekija *dȅlan* for CSS *delam* (1 sg. pres. t.). The old **zd'* and **zg'* clusters produced *ždž* in Prekmurje, as opposed to the all-Slovene /*ž*/, e.g., *droždže* for CSS *droži*. The word-final *-ł* evolved to /*-o*/ in the Slovenske gorice and Prekmurje dialects, and to /*-a*/ in the Prlekija, e.g., *vido*, *vida* for CSS *videl* /*vídew*/.

A number of other features are narrowly dialectal. Thus, the Prekmurje dialect, in a manner parallel to Kajkavian, developed the instrumental singular feminine desinence *-ov* (*-of*), e.g., *rȉbov* ∿ *rȉbof* vs. CSS *rîbo*. The Prekmurje dialect is also the only Slovene dialect with a real spirant /*j*/: in some positions this /*j*/ further developed into /*d'*/, e.g., *d'äma* for CSS *jama*; in some cases to /*g'*/, e.g., *divg'i* for CSS *divji*. The parallel evolutions of *t'* > *k'* and *d'* > *g'*, as well as *k'* > *t'* and *g'* > *d'* (before front vowels), are also part of this strictly Prekmurje development.

The centuries-long social and cultural symbiosis of Prekmurje with the Hungarian kingdom left, in addition, abundant traces of deep structural interference of Hungarian on Slovene in language and speaking.

DIALECTAL DOCUMENTATION OF SLOVENE The geographical dialectalization of the Slovene language was propelled by the same factors of space and time which led its evoluiton into a separate Slavic language. Its dialectal isoglosses very probably sprang up out of the minute differences and embrionic tendencies latent in the structure of Common Slavic itself. It is within these very first evolutionary drifts, which gradually accrued for centuries, that differences and tendencies emerged which did not affect the entire territory of the Alpine Slavic; these restricted innovations became the first dialectal isoglosses in the history of the Slovene language.

We have attempted to show which were the oldest dialectal innovations in the Eastern Alpine Slavic. Exactly when the changes which they represent became significant in the structure of the new language, and where they originated, we do not know. There is little direct evidence for the use of the new language in writing to document its evolution, and the relative chronology of individual changes can speak only of sequences of events outside of concrete time. Thus an absolute chronology of the dialectal isoglosses in the early Slovene evolution just cannot be given.

The oldest monument in the vernacular which may be called Slovene is the *Freising Fragments* (ab. 1000 A.D.). They are written in an astonishingly still uniform common Slavic, although at the same time they already contain numerous "local" elements which seem to be giving us adequate reason for treating them as the oldest Slovene written document. Such features include the notation of a single reduced vowel limited in use to strong position, the use of a compound adjectival declension of the type which later prevailed in Slovene, the graphic notations of the reflexes of **t'* and **d'* which point to new *ć* and *j* sounds, the contractions of the *moja* > *ma* type, and the preservation of the **tl*, **dl* clusters. All of this illustrates such "local" features in the fragments which deviate from a common Slavic structure and agree with the usage in the Alpine Slavic-Slovene of later centuries. On the other hand, at this stage of linguistic development, such a "localized," common Slavic language, cannot be interpreted to represent any narrower "microlocal" features which may be considered dialectal Slovene. Thus, the *Freising Fragments*, linked to the Carinthian dialectal area by origin and function, seemingly do not contain as yet anything typically dialectal Carinthian; their language seems to represent the stage in the evolution of Slovene preceding the dialectal variegation of the Alpine Slavic speech territory.

There is a gap of about three centuries in the textual evidence of Old Slovene after the *Freising Fragments*, and it is only by the end of the fourteenth century that we find the first texts to give us a glimpse into the dialectal evolutions of the language. By the end of the fifteenth century we have one text from Lower Carniola, three from Upper Carniola, and two from Venetian Slovenia. From here on, documentation increases. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, at the time when the Central dialects were thoroughly documented in print and when the first records from other peripheral areas of the Slovene speech territory became available, we already possess a fairly satisfactory picture of the dialectal situation in the Slovene language.

The oldest documentation of the dialectalization of Slovene can be found in the following texts:

The MS OF RATEČE, in the earlier literature known as the *Manuscript of Celovec* (1362-92), was written in Rateče, located on the boundary between Upper Carniola and Carinthia. Linguistically, its texts contain some incipient dialectal features of two dialects, one of which must have had the *-m* > *-n* change (e.g., *nan* for CSS *nam* [dat. pl. personal pron.]), a feature known to the Zilja dialect, and one having the *šč* > *š* assimilation (e.g., *karschanstuu* for CSS *krščanstvo* [dat. sg.]), a feature characteristic of the Upper Carniola dialect.

The MSS OF STIČNA (ab. 1428-1440), written in the Abbey of Stična in Lower Carniola, already possesses all of the distinctive features of the Lower Carniola dialect. For instance, its reflex for the long *ě* is */ej/* (e.g., *deylam* for CSS *delom* [dat. pl.]), its reflex for the long *ō* is */u/* (e.g., *dobruto* for CSS *dobroto* [acc. sg.]), and the word-final *-o* is */-u/* (e.g., *stanovytu* for CSS *stanovitno* [adv.]).

The MS OF STARA GORA (1492-1498), by origin and function a document of the cultural tradition of Venetian Slovenia, is linguistically much less "local" than one would expect for the end of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is written in what one may at best call a mixed language, with surprisingly strong ingredients from an Upper Carniola dialectal tradition; it has, for example, monophthongal reflexes for the long *ě* and *ō* (e.g., *veryo* for CSS *verujem* [1st sg. present t.]; and *gospod* for CSS *gospod* [nom. sg.]), and the *šč* > *š* assimilation (e.g., *kherschanschko* for CSS *krščansko* [acc. sf. fem.]).

The MS OF KRANJ, recorded in Kranj, a center of Upper Carniola, was written in the second half of the fifteenth century. This manuscript, too, exhibits a mixed language whose features point to a meeting point between the Upper and the Lower Carniola dialectal bases.

The MS OF ČERNJEJA, a fifteenth century text (dated 1497-1507), again a document of the cultural tradition of Venetian Slovenia, is already entirely "local." Its language exhibits westernmost dialectal features: a reflex */e/* for the long *ě* (e.g., *delati* for CSS *delati* [inf.]), and the reflex /*a*/ for long and short ə (e.g., *iedan*, *ossam* for CSS *eden*, *osem*), features which are characteristic still today for the Venetian Slovenia dialects.

In the middle of the sixteenth century (1550), still before the modern vowel reduction and the *ł* > /*w*/ change accelerated the drift of the Alpine Slavic dialects toward a major structural shake-up, the Central Slovene dialects were committed to the book. It is in this manner that the Central dialects, in the garb and structure of the time, became the dialectal basis of the modern Slovene. Hence its antiquated, archaic codified norm, so strikingly at variance with the living dialects.

During the next two centuries the vowel reduction pressure began to induce structural changes in the dialects; it was exactly at this point that the tendency toward localism culminated in the Slovene lands; by the mid-eighteenth century this tendency menaced the disintegration of both a language and its written tradition. A sensible retreat to the sixteenth century norm by the codifiers of the modern written-literary language (J. Kopitar, 1808) subsequently saved the unity of the language, but could not stop the tendency toward dialectal cleavage. In the absence of unifying agencies, indeed in the presence of so many disunifying forces of a geographic, political, social and cultural nature which lasted into the first decades of our century, it is not surprising that each of the dialects of the Slovene lands retained in its own area an unusual degree of vigor and distinctiveness down to our own time.

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There is, however, nothing unique and specifically Slovene in the evolution of the dialects of the Slovene language, particularly in relation to those centrifugal, geographic and political factors responsible for its horizontal diversification. The physionomy of the geographic area settled by the ancestors of today's speakers of Slovene, and the lack of political independence and freedom which was their lot in history, were certainly powerful factors acting in other languages as well. Life in goegraphically narrow communities tends to be limited and intense and the speech of such communities tends to be peculiar to itself. Under such conditions, the tendency toward localism is always exceedingly strong. It is therefore natural that the language of such speech communities everywhere is differentiated into a great number of dialects. The Slovene speech territory is a classic example of such differentiation.

There is nothing unique and specifically Slovene as well in the absence of social and cultural forces which might lead a vertical type of differentiation of a language into social and cultural dialects. Five hundred years after the settlement in the Eastern Alps, there was no social stratification in early Slovene society, and for more than another five hundred years there was practically no educated class within it. Consequently, during those centuries the Slovene language was not written, whereas in speech it functioned only on the lowest sociolinguistic level, without any social prestige whatsoever. In the absence of any social and educational stratification, there was no functional diversification of the language as well. Thus,, local dialects dominated the ever more restricted speech communities faithful to their own tradition. There were no social or cultural forces to counteract the splintering action of provincialism, and the larger the differences between the dialects grew, the more intense was the urge to keep them apart. It was only by the middle of the nineteenth century that the Slovene educated koinè began to check the centrifugal tendencies of the Slovene dialects.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE

SOUNDS AND PROSODIC FEATURES

The norm of Contemporary Standard Slovene is the cultivated speech of the educated speakers of Slovene. As it has been shown, its phonemic system is based on the Slovene central dialects. In its evolution CSS adopted the vowel system of the Upper Carniola dialects and the consonantal sounds of the dialects of Lower Carniola. Prosodically, two norms are admitted in CSS today: a more conservative one, based on tone and quantity, which rests on the accentaully more archaic Central dialects, and a more innovative one, based on quantity and stress (but not requiring tone), which acknowledges the evolutionary tendencies of the non-central dialects (see Figure 25).

The cultivated pronunciation of CSS The production of sounds in CSS requires a medium basis of articulation, not high and tense as in French or Russian, and not low and relaxed as in English. Regionally, the basis of articulation may differ strikingly: the dialects of Lower Carniola have a lax, those of Upper Carniola a more tense basis of articulation.

The orthoepic rules of CSS define the cultivated pronunciation of contemporary Slovene. By this norm, the consonants are pronounced clearly and distinctly, without any secondary features, and the vowels are oral, neither rounded nor diphthongal, produced with an even beginning. There is no marked mutual influence between vowels and consonants in the speech of educated speakers. On the other hand, the observation of the spoken CSS in formal situations (e.g., the enunciation of the radio and TV announcers, still representing a model of CSS pronunciation today), would seem to indicate a tendency to use a higher and more tense basis of articulation.

The alphabet of CSS CSS has twenty-five graphemes. Their order is as follows: *Aa Bb Cc Čč Dd Ee Ff Gg Hh Ii Jj Kk Ll Mm Nn Oo Pp Rr Ss Šš Tt Uu Vv Zz Žž*. In foreign words *Qq Ww Xx Yy* may appear also; in the alphabet, *Qq* stands between *Pp* and *Rr*; *Ww Xx Yy* between *Vv* and *Zz*.

Some CSS graphemes symbolize several sounds, e.g., *Ee* and *Oo*, or *Ll* and *Vv*; except for *lj* and *nj* which may stay for one single sound (see below), CSS does not possess digraphs.

Notation In conventional spelling the CSS vowel graphemes are written *a e i o u*, regardless of the quantity, stress or quality of vocalic sounds; e.g., *mleko*, *cvet*, *sestra*, *dežela*, *kmet*, *dekle*, *pes*, *tema*.

In dictionaries and grammars the quantity, stress, and quality of an accented vocalic sound are designated by the following diacritics over a vowel grapheme: acute accent /´/, circumflex accent /ˆ/, and grave accent /`/. In this system, an acute /´/ and a circumflex /ˆ/ mark long, stressed sounds; but also indicate vowel quality when used over the mid-vowels /*e* and *o*/ : /´/ a closed, /ˆ/ an open quality. A grave accent /`/ in this notation indicates simply a short vowel. E.g., *mléko*, *cvêt*, *sêstra*, *dežêla*, *kmèt*, *deklè*, *pès* /*pəs*/, *temà* /*təma*/, *vrh* /*vərx*/ 'above,' *vŕh* /*və̀rx*/ 'peak,' *tŕgati*, *tŕgam*.

In the normal spelling in CSS texts, these diacritics are not used. They may be employed, however, when in a text required by meaning or by meter and style. E.g., *vr̀h* 'above' (adv.) vs. *vrh* 'peak' (subst.), *celó* 'even' (adv.) vs. *celo* 'entire' (adj.), *véliki* 'great' (adj. def. form) vs. *veliki*, *kánon* 'canon' vs. *kanon* 'cannon,' *nêbes* 'firmament' vs. *nebes* (gen. pl.) 'heaven'; "*okróg vrát stráža na pomoč zavpije*" (Prešeren).

In notation of the norm's tone distinctions, the same diacritics /´/, /ˆ/, /`/ signalize tone: /´/ the long rising, /ˆ/ the long falling, /`/ a short falling accent equivalent to Serbocroatian /̏ /. To differentiate the vowel quality of accented vowels in this notation, the following set of symbols is used: *ẹ ọ* for closed, *e o* for open mid-vowels, and /ə/ for central-mid 'schwa.' E.g., *mlẹ́ko*, *cvệt*, *sêstra*, *dežéla*, *kmèt*, *deklè*, *pə̀s*, *təmà*, *vrh* 'above,' *vr̂h* [*və̏rh*] 'peak,' *tŕgati* [*tə̀rgati*], *tr̂gam* [*tə̏rgam*].

In our notation, except where noted, we will use the accent marks /ˊ/, /ˆ/, /ˋ/ to indicate quantity and quality of vowels as in the *Slovenski pravopis-1962*, with one reservation: forms with a final long vowel will always appear with an accent mark, while forms with a final short vowel will appear without any. A grave accent /ˋ/ will be used to indicate a non-final short stress. E.g., *mléko*, *cvét*, *sêstra*, *dežêla*, *kmet*, *dekle*, *pəs*, *təma* but *tə̀ma*, *vrh* 'above' but *vŕh* 'peak.'

VOCALIC SOUNDS Contemporary Standard Slovene has eight qualitatively distinct vocalic sounds: three are front vowels /*i*, *e*, ɛ/, three are back vowels /*u*, *o*, ɔ/, and two are central vowels /*a*, ə/. In terms of tongue-height, one is a low /*a*/, two are high /*i*, *u*/, and five are mid-vowels, of which a higher mid-front /*e*/ is opposed to a lower mid-front /ɛ/, a higher mid-back /*o*/ to a lower mid-back /ɔ/. In our phonemic notation, the higher mid-vowels *e* and *o* will be symbolized with /*ẹ*/ and /*ọ*/, and the lower mid-vowels ɛ and ɔ, will be represented by /*e*/ and /*o*/. The CSS 'schwa' sound /ə/ is a typical mid-central vowel with a position and quality which may vary considerably without losing its essential character.

The CSS vocalic sounds can be accented or unaccented and, with the exception of /ə/, all can be long or short. The vowel /ə/ is inherently short. The CSS vowel system is therefore twofold:

Long			Short		
ī		*ū*	*i*		*u*
ẹ̄		*ọ̄*	*e*	*ə*	*o*
ē		*ō*			
	ā			*a*	

Long vowels are always stressed and may occur in every syllable of a word. E.g., *góvori* (pl.) 'speeches,' *govôri* (imper.) 'speak!,' *govorí* 3rd sg. present tense) 'he speaks.'

The system of long vowels knows four tongue heights with close and open variety of mid-vowels, /*ẹ*/ vs. /*e*/, /*ọ*/ vs. /*o*/. E.g.:

ī : *lípa, víno, krí, míslijo*
ẹ̄ : *péti* (inf.), *on méni* (3 sg.), *žéni se, véra*
ē : *pêti* (num.), *mêni* (pron. dat. sg.), *žêni se* (imper.), *Vêra* (name)

ā : *státi, dám, stvár, čâkam*
ō : *gospôda* (nom. pl.), *nôsi* (imper.), *ôkna* (gen. sg.)
ọ̄ : *gospóda* (gen. sg.), *nósi* (3 sg.), *ókna* (nom. pl.)
ū : *ústa, múha, pogúm, kupújem.*

The CSS short vowels may be stressed or unstressed; the stressed are usually found in a word-final syllable; in the absence of a long vowel in a word, such stress in automatic. E.g., *brat*, *nit*, *dno*, *otrok*, *stəza*, *stəbər*, but also: *àmpak*, *kȁkšen*, *tjȁkaj*, *və̀ndar*. (See below.)

In the system of short vowels, */e/* and */o/* are inherently open. When stressed, short close mid-vowels occur positionally before */j/* and */w/*. E.g.: *kmet*, *rep*, *dekle*, *pogreb*, however, *štej /štẹj/*, *glej /glẹj/*, *jej /jẹj/*, *nor*, *grob*, *otrok*, *porod*, however, *gol /gọw/*, *vol /vọw/*, *stol /stọw/*.

The vowel /ə/ may be stressed only in the absence of another vowel in a word; it may occur independently or in the sequence /ər/, which represents the phonemic realization of the syllabic ṛ which is always long. E.g., *pəs*, *təmən*, *pŕvi /pə̀rvi/*, *zŕno /zə̀rno/*; in free variation *təma* and *tə̀ma*, *təmən* and *tə̀mən*; with minimal pairs nom. acc. pl. *sŕca /sə̀rca/* as compared to gen. sg. *srcá /sərcá/*, imper. *bŕzi* vs. 3 sg. pres. *brzí*.

As it is known, in languages with an indetermined vowel /ə/, the syllabic consonants are phonemically interpreted as polyphonematic units. Phonemically, every *r* without an adjacent vowel is accompanied by ə; yet such a ə is written only before a final *-r#*. E.g., *čŕv /čə̀ru/*, *čŕt /čə̀rt/*, *čŕta /čə̀rta/*, *smŕt /smə̀rt/*, *tŕgati /tə̀rgati/*, *nédrje /nẹ́dərje/*, *rdeč /ərdèč/*; however, *vétər /vẹ́tər/*, *teâtər /teâtər/*.

Except in a final syllable, a stressed vowel (including ṛ) is automatically long; an unstressed vowel is automatically short. The quantitative oppositions between long and short vowels are perceptible. Unstressed vowels tend to be even shorter than stressed short vowels yet are not reduced.

Phonemic Notation. In our phonemic notation (always in slants), we mark phonemes: 'schwa' /ə/, closed vowels /ẹ/ and /ọ/, open vowels /e/

and /*o*/, the combination /*ər*/, and /*w*/.[1] Two accent symbols are used in this notation, a /ˊ/ to indicate a long, and a /ˋ/ to indicate a short vowel. E.g., *brat* /*bràt*/, gen. sg. *bráta* /*bráta*/, nom. sg. and gen. pl. *lás* /*lás*/ 'hair,' gen. pl. *vrát* /*vrát*/ 'door' and nom. sg. *vrát* /*vrát*/ 'neck,' nom. sg. and gen. pl. *zób* /*zọ́b*/ 'tooth', inf. *délati* /*dẹ́lati*/ 'work' and 1 sg. pres. *délam* /*dẹ́lam*/, *tŕgati* /*tə̀rgati*/ and *tŕgam* /*tə̀rgam*/, *pəs* /*pə̀s*/, gen. sg. *psa* /*psà*/, *məgla* /*məglà*/ and *mə̀gla* /*mə̀gla*/, *təmən* /*təmə̀n*/ and *tə̀mən* /*tə̀mən*/.

Diphthongal Combinations. Syllable-final bilabial /*w*/ and palatal fricative /*j*/ participate with the preceding vowel in diphthongal combinations: *aw*, *éw*, *ew*, *əw*, *iw*, *ów*, *uw*; *aj*, *éj*, *ij*, *oj*, *ój*, *uj*. E.g., *páv*, *pévci*, *lev*, *naliv*, *rov*, *dál*, *bél*, *sedél*, *mísəl*, *mólči*, *molčíte*, *obúl*; *máj*, *zdaj*, *imej*, *gléj*, *bíj*, *pój*, *takoj*, *čuj*.

In CSS pronunciation of the combination *ˊ-əl* in word-final position is in free alternation: /*ˊ-əw*/ or /*ˊ-u*/, e.g., *mísəl* /*mísəw* and *mísu*/, *rékəl* /*rẹ́kəw* and *rẹ́ku*/; the pronunciation of combinations *sonorant + l* and *sonorant + v* in word-final position, however, is /*sonorant + u*/, e.g., *umŕl* /*umə̀ru*/, *čŕv* /*čə̀ru*/.

Distinctive Features of Vocalic Phonemes The matrix of distinctive features of the CSS vocalic phonemes is based on four dichotomous

		ə	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ē	ē	o	ō	ō
QUANTITY		-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
SATURATION	COMPACT	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIFFUSE	-			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
GRAVITY	GRAVE	-			-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
	ACUTE	-							+	+	+	-	-	-
TENSENESS		-								-	+		-	+

Figure 26. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF VOCALIC PHONEMES

properties: three are inherent (qualitative) and involve *saturation* (compact/diffuse), *gravity* (grave/acute), and *tenseness* (tense/lax); one is prosodic and involves *quantity* (long/short). The presence of a feature is marked by a plus sign; its distinctive absence by a minus.

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[1] In our notation of the CSS voiceless velar fricative /*x*/ we follow the CSS orthographic convention and use its grapheme *h*.

For the more conservative vowel system of CSS, based on the dialects which preserve tone (rising/falling), the matrix of distinctive features of vocalic phonemes includes syllabic /r̥/ and a second prosodic dichotomy involving *tone* (high/low) as well. Here, long vowels (including syllabic /r̥/) are known in two distinctive varieties: high tone long vowel vs. low tone long vowel. The short vowels of this system participate neither in the tense/lax nor in the high-tone/low-tone dichotomies. In the standard norm this system is non-obligatory.

PROSODIC FEATURES OF CSS When Slavic linguistics states that contemporary Slovene is a polytonic language, it is referring to the dialects which still possess tone distinctions or to the more archaic norm spoken by educated speakers of these dialects. The use of tone distinctions, however, is not obligatory any longer in the CSS norm. (See below.)

It is customarily said that CSS has a free and mobile expiratory stress (or stress of intensity); free in the sense that it may fall on any but only one syllable of a word, and mobile in that the place of stress may change in the frame of an inflectional paradigm.

Phonemically, however, the CSS prosodic system combines stress with vowel quantity. The quantity or the duration of vocalic sound, long vs. short, is free and mobile in the CSS prosodic system in the sense

> that a long vowel may occur in any but only one syllable of a non-compound word;
>
> that the place of a long vowel may change within an inflectional paradigm; and
>
> that stress is concomitant with length and predictable if there is none in a word.

In other words, a non-compounded CSS word may have only one long vowel and this is always stressed. In the absence of any long vowel, the final syllable automatically receives the stress.[2]

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[2] In this system, the occurrence of the short accent on the word-final (or only) syllable, or on a /ə/ under a retracted accent, could be

Quantity and Tone System In dialects which still possess tone and quantity distinctions and in the conservative norm of CSS, long vowels display phonemic oppositions of high tone vs. low tone, perceived as a rising vs. a falling pitch and symbolized with an acute or circumflex accent. It is to this extent that contemporary Slovene knows distinctive tone oppositions, capable of differentiating meanings, e.g., for the substantives of the types: *lípa*, *vẹ́ra*, *péta*, *gláva*, *nóga*, *mọ́ka*, *dúša*, *vŕba*, in the acc. sg. vs. instr. sg. case, viz., *lípo* vs. *lȋpo*, *vẹ́ro* vs. *vẹ̑ro*, *péto* vs. *pȇto*, *glávo* vs. *glȃvo*, *nógo* vs. *nȏgo*, *mọ́ko* vs. *mọ̑ko*, *dúšo* vs. *dȗšo*, *vŕbo* vs. *vȓbo*; or for the verbs of the types: *častíti*, *delíti*, *govoríti*, *gradíti*, *grešíti*, *lovíti*, *molíti*, *slavíti*, in the 1st and 2nd pl. present vs. imper. pl. forms, viz., *častímo* vs. *častȋmo* *častíte* vs. *častȋte*, *delíte* vs. *delȋte*, *gradímo* vs. *gradȋmo*, *lovíte* vs. *lovȋte*, *molímo* vs. *molȋmo*; or in a sentence, e.g., *Če govorímo, govorȋmo!* 'If we talk, let's talk!'

This system has the syllabic sonorant /r̥/ which can also participate in high tone vs. low tone oppositions, viz., /ŕ̥/ vs. /ȓ̥/. E.g., *čȓt* [*čə̏rt*], *čŕta* [*čə̀rta*], *vŕba* [*və̀rba*], acc. sg. *vŕbo* [*və̀rbo*] vs. instr. sg. *vȓbo* [*və̏rbo*], inf. *tŕgati* [*tə̀rgati*] vs. 1 sg. pres. *tȓgam* [*tə̏rgam*].

Note that in the conservative norm of CSS only long vowels display phonemic tone oppositions; all short vowels have phonetically falling low tone. In phonetic notation they are marked, when necessary, with [̏]. E.g., [*brȁt*, *kmȅt*, *deklȅ*, *otrȍk*, *məglȁ*, *təmə̏n*].

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understood and interpreted as predictable and automatic (cf. Stankiewicz 1979, 130), on condition that complete inventories of words and forms with a non-final stress on short vowels other than /ə/ are provided. Such an inventory should include, e.g., a list of CSS alternant forms of the type *mendȁ* and *mènda*, *nalȁšč* and *nȁlašč*, *dokȁjkrat*, *dokȁjšnji*, *doklȅr* and *dȍkler*, *temvèč* and *tȅmveč*, *ampak* and *ȁmpak*, *odvȅčen*, *odvȅčnost*, *kàdar* and *kadȃr*, *vèčkrat*, *vsèga* and *vsegȁ*, *vsȅmu* and *vsemȕ*; a list of the CSS interjectional forms of the type *jèli*, *jèlite*, *lèjte*, *pȍjmo*, *pȍjte*; a list of the CSS interjectional verbs and their paradigms of the type *hm̀kati*, *hȍjkati*, *hȍpati*, *hȍpniti*; and a list of a few types of compounds which appear with a secondary stress, e.g., *pȍdpredsédnik*, *nȁdoblást*, *nȁdnárodən*, *nȁjlépši*; and, of course, a list of the types of compounds which in CSS appear with several long accents, e.g., *živínozdravnȋk*, *kȋnodvorána*, *dvódnéven*, *véčstólétən*.

Our notation of intonational oppositions (its usage is always explicitly indicated) is basically phonemic. In addition to ə, ẹ, ọ and *w*, we use an acute accent /´/ to indicate high tone accent (e.g., gen. sg. *bráta*, gen. pl. *lás*, gen. pl. *vrát* 'door,' gen. pl. *zọ́b*, inf. *dẹ́lati*, *tŕgati*); a circumflex accent /ˆ/ to indicate the low tone accent (e.g., nom. sg. *lȃs*, nom. sg. *vrȃt* 'neck,' nom. sg. *zọ̑b*, pres. tense *dẹ̑lam*, *tȓgam*); and a double gravis accent ̏ marking simply a short falling accent (e.g., *brȁt*). In this system a /ə/ may be found under a single gravis /`/ indicating the retracted short rising accent (e.g., *mə̀gla*, *tə̀mən*). In a phonetic notation of the syllabic /ṛ/ under pitch, we use [ə̀r] for /ṛ́/, and [ə̏r] for /ṛ̑/.

Tone Contours in Slovene In the conservative norm of CSS the circumflex accent pattern of long vowels seems to consist of a voice inflection which could be described as level or falling. In dissyllabic forms with an unaccented last syllable, its melodic line is falling, its contour essentially convex. Phonologically, this type of tone inflection corresponds to the low-pitched tone of Slovene long vowels. E.g., nom. sg. *lȃs* 'hair,' *zọ̑b* 'tooth,' *vrȃt* 'neck,' adj. masc. sg. *mlȃd*, 1 sg. pres. *vȋdim*.

The contour of the acute accent pattern of long vowels, on the other hand, is more complex. In the frame of a vowel under accent, its melodic line is falling and slightly ascending toward the end of the vowel duration. In dissyllabic forms with a following unaccented syllable, its melodic line is rising in the sense that the position of its highest point in the unaccented syllable stands higher than the lowest point of the contour in the accented syllable. Phonologically this type of tone inflection corresponds to the high-pitched tone of Slovene long vowels.[3]

Perceptually, the Slovene acute accent has therefore a typically concave contour; it is marked by a break of the melodic line at the end of the accented syllable and by its resumption in the beginning of the following unaccented syllable. The accoustic measurements agree with this perception. They have shown that there is no difference between rising and falling accents in the syllable under accent. The difference consists in the relative height of the melody in the syllable which follows.[4]

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[3] Note that in a recent presentation of Slovene tonemes, the acute accent has been defined the low-pitched, and the circumflex accent the high-pitched tone. Cf. Toporišič 1976, 56. For a general discussion of the problem of tone distinctions in Slovene see Toporišič 1967; for analytical data Toporišič 1968.

CONSONANTAL SOUNDS   CSS has the following twenty-four consonantal sounds, twenty-one of which are qualitatively distinctive consonantal phonemes:

		bilabial	labio-dental	dental-alveolar	alveolar	palatal	velar
STOPS	vd	b		d			g
	vls	p		t			k
FRICATIVES	vd	w	v	z	ž	j	
	vls		f	s	š		x
AFFRICATES	vd			(ʒ)	(ǯ)		
	vls			c	č		
LIQUIDS					r l		
NASALS		m		n			(ŋ)

Table 27. CONSONANTAL SOUNDS OF CSS

1. The symbols in parentheses denote allophones. Thus, the affricates ʒ, ǯ, and the nasal velar ŋ are combinatory variants of /*c*/, /*č*/, and /*n*/, and are brought about through assimilative changes. E.g., *Kócbek* [*kǫ́ʒbek*], *vrábəc drobî* [*vrábeʒ drobî*], *odlóčba* [*odlǫ́ǯba*], *kováč bom* [*kováǯ bom*], *zánka* [*záŋka*], *ángel* [*áŋgel*], *bánka* [*báŋka*].

2. The voiced labiodental fricative /*v*/ and the voiced bilabial fricative /*w*/ may contrast only in one position, initially before /*l*/,

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[4] Cf. Toporišič 1967, and Toporišič 1968.

e.g., *vláka* 'sledge' vs. gen. sg. *vlấka /wlấka/* 'train.'[5] In all other positions the */v/* vs. */w/* distribution is complementary:

/v/ occurs before vowels, liquids */r, l/*, and in clusters */rvj/* and */rvn/*; e.g., *vídim, nőva, vréme, vláda, s krvjő, brezbấrvno*;

/w/ occurs elsewhere, particularly in syllable- or word-final position where */v/* never occurs including in borrowings; e.g., *vsấk /wsấk/, vzêti /wzệti/, nov /nòw/, ővca /őwca/, stấvka /stấwka/, dêlavca /dệlawca/, prav /pràw/*; *ấvto /ấwto/, arhîv /arxîw/, Čêhov /Čệhow/*.

Note that in absolute initial position before a consonant and medially inside consonantal clusters (and across a word boundary), */w/* alternates with */u/*, depending on the tempo of speech. E.g., *vsấk /wsấk* and *usấk/*, *vdőva /wdőva* and *udőva/*, *vztrấjnost /wstrấjnost* and *ustrấjnost/*, *predvsèm /predwsèm* and *predusèm/*, *odvzêti /odwzệti* and *oduzệti/*, *odvsepovsőd /odwsepowsọ̋d* and *odusepowsọ̋d/*.

3. The alveolar liquid */l/* of CSS is a clear, non-velarized 'middle' *l* sound. It is in complementary distribution with the voiced bilabial fricative */w/* whose orthographic spelling is *l*. In the main, the distribution of */l/* vs. */w/* is governed by the following rule:

/l/ occurs before vowels and */j/* (for limitations see below); e.g., *lás, lép, posláti, mlấd, solîst, žêlja, pőlje*;

/w/ occurs before other consonants and in syllable- or word-final position; e.g., *bêlkast /bệwkast/, dőlg /dọ̋wg/, pőln /pọ̋wn/, sőlza /sọ̋wza/, bêl /bệw/, dêlal /dệlaw/, hôdil /xôdiw/*.

The */w/* pronunciation of the grapheme *l* is characteristic only for the native and "naturalized" Slovene lexicon. While it is obligatory in one grammatical category (in the masc. sg. form of the *-l-* participle; e.g., *dêlal /dệlaw/, hôdil /xôdiw/, pêl /pệw/*), its application is not general. There are three major classes of exceptions. Instead of */w/*, one pronounces */l/*

(a) in the gen. pl. and derivatives of nouns in *-la, -lo*; e.g., *skấla, skấl, skấlnat*; *darîlo, darîl, darîlce*; *krîlo, krîl, krîlce*;

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[5] Cf. Paternost 1963, 22; *Slovenski pravopis-1962*, 24.

(b) before the inst. sg. desinence *-mi*; e.g., *vol /vọ̀w/*, *volmí /volmí/*; *živál /živáw/*, *živálmi*; *piščál /piščáw/*, *piščálmi*; and

(c) in CSS bookish words and borrowings; e.g., *spol*, *glágol*, *míl*, *zál*, *stolp*, *vokál*, *kultúra*, *maršál*, *Círíl*.

The CSS orthoepic rules on the bilabial pronunciation of *l*, however, are more complicated. Several classes of derivatives from *-l-* participles consistently elude the application of the distribution rule. E.g., substantives masc. sg. *brálǝc* and *brávǝc*, gen. sg. *brálca* and *brávca*, subst. fem. sg. *brálka* and *brávka*; *opazoválǝc* and *opazovávǝc*, *opazoválca* and *opazovávca*, *opazoválka* and *opazovávka*; *hladílnik /hladíwnik* and *hladílnik/*, *hladílnica /hladíwnica* and *hladílnica/*.

Note that the combination *´-əl* in word-final position has free alternation, viz.: */´-əw/* or */´-u/*; e.g., *mísəl /mísəw* and *mísu/*, *dêbəl /dêbəw* and *dêbu/*, *rékəl /rékəw* and *réku/*, *prišə̀l /prišə̀w* and *prišù/*.

4. The CSS *r* represents the rolled alveolar trill */r/*; e.g., *ríba*, *rôka*. Initially before a consonant, and positionally between two consonants, */r/* is realized as */ər/*. E.g.: *ŕž /ə̀rž/*, *ržén /əržén/*, *rdeč /ərdèč/*, *vŕt /və̀rt/*, *smŕt /smə̀rt/*. (See above.)

5. The CSS *h* represents the voiceless velar fricative */x/*; e.g., *hîša /hîša/*, *gréh /grẹ́h/*, *mêhək /méhək/*.

6. In CSS the combinations *lj*, *nj* are two compound graphemes, digraphs, with two different phonemic realizations:

(a) before a vowel they stand for the clusters */l + j/*, */n + j/*; e.g., *pôlje /pộlje/*, *žêlja /žêlja/*, *Ljubljána /ljubljána/*; gen. sg. *kônja /kónja/*;

(b) before a consonant and in word-final position their second element is either not articulated or it is articulated with constriction and without release. E.g., gen. pl. *pôlj /pộl ∿ pộl'/*, adj. *pôljski /pộlski ∿ pộl'ski/*; gen. pl. *kônj /kộn ∿ kộn'/*, *kônjski /kộnski ∿ kộn'ski/*.

Note that in CSS the graphic combinations *lj*, *nj*, do not represent the palatal phonemes */l'/*, */n'/*; in word division they are never separated, whereas in dictionaries they are not treated as special graphemic entities, as in Serbo-Croation.

A Functional Classification of Consonants In a phonological classification of CSS consonants, the sonorants are opposed to obstruents, and in the obstruent series, the voiced opposed to the voiceless consonants. Thus, CSS has:

SONORANTS		*v m n r l j*
OBSTRUENTS	VOICED	*b d g z ž*
	VOICELESS	*p t k s š c č f h*

Voiced/voiceless paired consonants are: *b*/*p*, *d*/*t*, *g*/*k*, *z*/*s*, *ž*/*š*; voiced and voiceless consonants are distinctively opposed before vowels and sonorants in CSS.

The so-called "soft" consonants of CSS, *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*, represent another subclass of consonants relevant for the morphology of CSS. (See below.)

Positional Neutralization in Voicing In CSS the assimilation of voiced and voiceless consonants is governed primarily, as in most Slavic languages, by the rule of regressive voice assimilation. By this rule, which in Slovene operates in the frame of a "phonological" word and of a morphologically compound word,[6] the presence of absence of voice in a consonant or consonantal cluster is determined by the presence or absence of voice in the last consonant in the cluster; in such a cluster a pause is equivalent to a voiceless segment. In a more precise formulation the rule governing regressive voice assimilation in CSS, however, may be formulated as follows:

1. Before a pause and at word boundary, a final voiced obstruent (or entire cluster) becomes voiceless. E.g.: *mlad* /*mlat*/, *gozd* /*gost*/; *mlad fant* /*mlat+fant*/, *mlad brat* /*mlat+brat*/, *mlad oče* /*mlat+oče*/, *mlad mož* /*mlat+moš*/.

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[6] A "phonological" word in Slovene, which does not necessarily coincide with the morphological word, may include proclitics and enclitics, united under one accent. Morphologically compound words in Slovene, on the other hand, may contain two or more accents.

2. Inside a "phonological" word or a morphologically compound word, obstruents undergo regressive assimilation; they acquire the voiced or voiceless character of the last segment in a consonantal cluster. E.g., *svatba /svȃdba/*, *sladka /slȃtka/*, *podpreti /potprȇti/*, *bog si ga vèdi /bőksiga+vȇdi/*, *od hiše /ot+hȋše/*, *stőodstőtən /stőotstőtən/*.

In accelerated speech, the rule of regressive assimilation operates also across word boundaries; thus, e.g.,: *mlad brat /mlad+brat/* may become */mlad+brat/*. Note also the exceptional treatment of prepositions across the word boundary: there is no neutralization of voice before a vowel or a sonorant of the second element of a phonological word; e.g.: *od očeta /od+očeta/*, *od matere /od+matere/*.

Fusion of Double Consonants In normal speech double consonants occurring at the morpheme- or at the word-boundary tend to fuse into single sounds, though of a somewhat longer duration. Such phonetically long consonants occur very often in the explicit pronunciation of semantic oppositions. E.g., at the morpheme boundary: *oddati*, *oddelek*, *oddih*, *izzvati*; after assimilative changes: *odtisniti*, *izsesati*, *odtajati*; at word boundaries: *tuj jetnik*, *trop psov*, *zvok kitar*, *s silo*; in semantic oppositions: *podtakniti*, *podtaknem* 'foist' vs. *potakniti*, *potaknem* 'plant,' *izstrgati*, *izstrgam* 'scrape out' vs. *iztrgati*, *iztrgam* 'tear out,' *polleten* 'semi-annual' vs. *poleten* 'of summer,' *odtekati*, *odtekam* 'flow out' vs. *otekati*, *otekam* 'swell.'

Distinctive Features of Consonantal Phonemes The matrix of distinctive features of the CSS consonantal phonemes (in both its norms, the standard and the conservative) is based on five dichotomous

	p	b	f	v	t	d	s	z	c	č	š	ž	k	g	x	n	m	r	l	j	w
NASALITY		-				-										+	+				
SATURATION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		-		
GRAVITY	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+			-	+
CONTINUOUSNESS	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	±	±	+	+	-	-	+			-	+		
VOICING	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+			-	+	-	+							

Figure 28. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

properties. They are all inherent (qualitative) and involve *nasality* (nasal/oral), *saturation* (compact/diffuse), *gravity* (grave/acute), *continuousness* (continuous/interrupted), and *voicing* (voiced/voiceless). The presence of a feature is marked by a plus sign; its distinctive absence by a minus. A feature combining both opposite terms is marked by the ± sign.

ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTION Except in two instances, the assimilation rules in CSS do not affect orthography. The exceptions concern:

(a) the spelling of preposition *z/s* (with the instrumental and genitive cases). The basic form *z* is used before a word which begins with a voiced consonant, a sonorant or a vowel. Before a voiceless consonant the variant form *s* is used. Before a word beginning with the cluster *nj* a free variant form *ž* may be used. E.g., *z bratom, z ladjo, z očetom, s peresom, s teboj, z njim* and *ž njim.*

(b) the spelling of preposition *k* (with the dative case). Before a word, beginning with a *k* or *g*, the preposition *k* is replaced by *h*. E.g., *k bratu, h koritu, h grmu.*

The Principle of CSS Writing and Orthography The basis of CSS writing is the morphophonemic principle. E.g., *vrabəc*, gen. sg. *vrabca /vrapca/*; *sladək*, fem. sg. *sladka /slatka/*; *svat* vs. *svatba /svadba/*; *glas* vs. *glasba /glazba/*; *bog /bok/* vs. gen. sg. *boga*; *grad /grat/* vs. gen. sg. *gráda* and *gradú.*

On the other hand, many spellings follow the etymological structure of the words. E.g., *kdo /gdo/* 'who,' *izvedeti* 'learn,' *razkuštrati* 'dishevel,' *vzdržati* 'hold out,' *obgovoriti* 'address.'

In a number of instances concessions are made in favor of the phonemic principle. E.g., present tense *grizem* vs. inf. *gristi*, *lezem* vs. *lesti*, adv. *sedaj* vs. *zdaj*, instr. sg. *z očetom*, *z materjo*, *z bratom* vs. *s konjem*, *s stricem*, *s teto*; dat. sg. *k materi*, *k stricu*, *k bratu /gbratu/*, *k ženi /gžéni/* vs. *h konju*, *h glavarju.*

Sometimes the norm allows alternate forms. E.g., *z njim* and *ž njim*, *z njo* and *ž njo*; or in verbal prefixes: *iz-* ∿ *z-/s-*, *raz-* ∿ *z-/s-*, *vz-* ∿ *z-/s-*, *ob-* ∿ *o-*, as in: *izvedeti* and *zvedeti*, *razkuštrati* and *skuštrati*, *vzdržati* and *zdržati*, *obgovoriti* and *ogovoriti.*

TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS

The following survey summarizes the changes in the shape of morphemes occurring in the inflection of Contemporary Standard Slovene. It includes the basic alternation types -- prosodic, vocalic, and consonantal -- common to both the nominal and verbal systems. The numerous though less common alternations are treated in the description of individual paradigms in the survey of CSS grammar.

We accept the traditional classification of morphophonemic alternations into phonologically conditioned or "automatic," and morphologically conditioned or "non-automatic" types. Although only morphologically conditioned alternations are morphophonemically relevant, we will also survey the major automatic alternations found in CSS. Some further notions are necessary for our discussion. While automatic alternations are by definition exceptionless, non-automatic alternations may or may not be without exceptions. Both types can be productive or non-productive in a system. In a morphological system in transition like CSS, the non-automatic alternations may in addition be mandatory or non-mandatory (optional) in its norm.

The morphophonemic alternants will, of course, be stated in reference to a basic form. In the nominal inflection the basic form will be the nominative singular form of a substantive, the nominative singular masculine form of an adjective; in the verbal inflection the basic stem of a verbal paradigm. The morphophonemic notation of basic stems will be given in the appropriate sections of the chapter on verbal inflection, p. 170.

The alternants are classified in terms of the type of phonological alternations, in the following order: (1) prosodic alternations; (2) truncation; (3) vocalic alternations; (4) consonantal alternations.

PROSODIC ALTERNATIONS Prosodic alternations in CSS involve alternations of stress and quantity. Since all long vowels are automatically stressed, the morphophonemic discussion of alternations of length is presented in terms of alternations in the position of stress. The intonational alternations which underlie this system are shown in the tables illustrating individual inflectional paradigms.

The features of quantity and stress, particularly their position in a form, are closely related to the morphological structure of CSS. In general, three such basic positions are distinctive in the structure of the CSS morphology; the quantity and stress may be,

(1) fixed on the stem (barytonic type), e.g., nom. sg. *lîpa*, gen. sg. *lîpe*, dat. sg. *lîpi*; basic stem *dę́la*, 1 sg. pres. *dêlam*, imper. sg. *dêlaj*, imper. pl. *dêlajte*, *-l-* participle masc. and fem. *dêlal*, *dêlala*;

(2) fixed on the desinence (oxytonic type), e.g., *stəzà*, *stəzè*, *stəzì*; basic stem *besnę̂*, *besnîm*, *besnì*, *besníte*, *besnèl*, *besnéla*;

(3) movable within the frame of a paradigm, e.g., *gôra*, *goré*, *gôri*; basic stem *govorí*, *govorím*, *govôri*, *govoríte*, *govôril*, *govoríla*.

These three basic structural types underlie the morphophonemic prosodic alternations of the CSS inflection. To determine to which of these types a Slovene inflected word belongs, we use the information given in their basic forms.

The morphophonemic prosodic alternations of the CSS inflection admit accentual alternations from the stem to the desinence (*a* ∿ *b*), and from the desinence to the stem (*b* ∿ *a*). A third type of prosodic alternation is the alternation within the stem (intra-stem accent alternation).

The stem ∿ desinence alternations are based on accent shifts from the stem to the desinence in the nominal (e.g., nom. sg. *grád* : gen. sg. *gradú*), and on trucation processes in the verbal system (e.g., 1 sg. pres. *govorím* : basic stem *govorí*); the desinence ∿ stem alternations reflect accent shifts in the mobile and oxytonic accentual types which characterize the innovative accentual patterns of the CSS norm (e.g., nom. sg. *žêna*, gen. sg. *žené* : *žêne*, acc. sg. *žennó* : *žêno*). The intra-stem accent alternations reflect accent shifts within stems (e.g., nom. sg. *cêsar* : gen. *cesárja*, in the nominal system, and inf. *želêti* [basic stem *želê*] : imper. sg. *žêli*, in the verbal stems).

Automatic Prosodic Alternations of CSS can be summarized as follows:

(1) Since any stressed vowel in non-final position is always long in CSS, a vowel is automatically lengthened if it finds itself in a

non-final position (e.g., nom. sg. *bràt* : gen. *bráta*; *-l-* part. masc. sg. *besnèl* : fem. *besnéla*), and is automatically shortened if it loses the stress (e.g., *gôra* : gen. *goré*).

(2) In the absence of a long vowel, of which there can be no more than one in a word, the stress automatically falls on the final syllable of a word (e.g., *stəbə̀r*, *dəskà*, *təmə̀n*, gen. *təmnəgà*). Non-mandatory forms *stə̀bər*, *də̀ska*, *tə̀mən*, *tə̀mnəga* also exist in CSS.

(3) Whenever truncation takes place in the combination of morphemes, the accent automatically shifts from the final vowel of the basic stem to the initial vowel of the desinence (e.g., inf. *lovîti*, basic stem *lovî* : 1 sg. pres. *lov + î-m*). Thus, in conjugation the stem-desinence alternation is automatic.

Non-Automatic Prosodic Alternations of CSS are of three types:

(1) Stem ∿ Desinence Alternations. The masculine, neuter, and feminine gender substantives belonging to the movable accent pattern, have stem ∿ desinence prosodic alternations within their paradigms. The status of these alternations in the CSS system, however, is not uniform. Those which appear in the plural are mandatory but those in the singular are optional. The former, when used, still support the opposition between the singular and the non-singular. The alternations within the singular, on the other hand, are less regular and inconsistent (in Class I, e.g., the masc. substantives oppose the genitive, the neuter substantives the loc. and dat. to all other cases; in Class II the fem. substantives oppose the acc., gen., and instr., and in Class III the fem. substantives the gen. and instr. to all other cases). In the morphological and prosodic levelling taking place in CSS, these alternations are losing their morphophonemic function.

(2) Desinence ∿ Stem Alternations. The desinence ∿ stem alternations appear in the CSS nominal system only as part of the coexistence and competition of the two norms of CSS; the conservative, based on the dialects of Lower Carniola, which still preserve the traditional accentual types in declensional patterns, and the innovative, based on a narrower central dialectal area around Ljubljana, characterized by a progressive liquidation of the old oxytonic and mobile accentual types.

The alternations produced by such evolutionary pressures and analogical levellings do not have any morphophonemic function in the CSS system.

Both the stem ∿ desinence and the desinence ∿ stem prosodic alternations are discussed in the accent and vowel alternations notes to individual declensional classes.

(3) Alternations Within the Stem. There are at least four classes of non-automatic intra-stem prosodic alternations in the declension of substantives. They all involve an accent alternation between the basic form (nom. sg.) and the remaining forms of its paradigm, and occur in the masculine and neuter substantives of Class I (e.g., nom. (-acc.) sg. *prêmog* : gen. *premóga*, *člôvek* : *človéka*, *plȇme* : *pleména*, *tȇle* : *teléta*); and in a few feminine substantives of Class III (e.g., *senôžet* : *senožéti*). These alternations are mandatory and non-productive in the CSS system.

In the system of adjectives two classes of non-automatic intra-stem accent alternations occur: a non-productive mandatory one in a few adjectives of the type: nom. sg. masc. *vêlik* : gen. *velíkega*; and an optional of the apparently productive type: *bôgat* : *bogátega*.

Five classes of non-automatic intra-stem prosodic alternations occur in the verbal system. They take place in some polysyllabic open stems with a morphophonemically accented stem-final syllable (stems of type B) and in all morpophonemically unaccented polysyllabic open stems (stems of type C), where they are found in the following categories: present tense, imperative singular, masc. sg. form of the -*l*-participle, passive participle, verbal substantive, and supine forms. They are discussed in our Conjugation Pattern chapter.

TRUNCATION   Truncation is one of the basic morphophonemic alternations imposed by the rules of CSS verbal inflection. It consists of the modification of a verbal basic stem before a desinence.

In CSS, truncation takes place when a vocalic desinence is added to a vocalic truncating stem (such a truncated stem is found in the present tense, imperative, present adverb, and present participle forms); and when a consonantal desinence is added to a monosyllabic stem ending in *j* (such a truncated stem is found in the -*l*- participle, the past passive participle, the verbal substantive, the supine and infinitive forms). E.g., basic stem *mísli* : 1 sg. pres. *mísl + i-m*, pres. part. *misl + èč*, as compared to inf. *mísli + ti*; *čuj* : *čúj + e-m*, *čuj-èč*, as compared to *čú + ti*.

Truncation very often involves deeper concomitant changes in the stem. Thus, the vocalic stems ending in *-ov-a-* and *-uv-a-* , when truncated, change their *-ov-* and *-uv-* to *-uj-*. E.g., basic stem *darov-á* : 1 sg. pres. *darúj + e-m*, inf. *darová + ti*; *pljuv-á* : *pljúj + e-m* and *pljúv + a-m*, *pljuvá + ti*.

In our notation of basic stems, a hyphen /-/ is used in the morphophonemic transcription of the vocalic truncating stems ending in *-a*. E.g., *darov-á*, 1 sg. pres. *darúj + e-m*; *molč-á*, *molč + í-m*; *rẹ́z-a*, *réž + e-m*; however, *dẹ́la*, *déla + m*.

VOCALIC ALTERNATIONS Three main types of vocalic alternations occur in Contemporary Standard Slovene inflection:

(1) the tense ∿ lax alternations of the */é/* ∿ */ê/* and */ó/* ∿ */ô/* type;

(2) the vowel ∿ zero alternations, and

(3) the grave ∿ acute vowel alternation of the */o/* ∿ */e/* type.

They are surveyed here for the nominal and verbal system separately.

Vocalic Alternations in the Nominal System:

(1) The Tense ∿ Lax Alternation of the nominal system (in substantives, adjectives and pronouns) reflects, as a rule, the prosodic changes in the declensional pattern of the CSS system. Dictated partially by old accentual conditions and partially by later innovative evolutions, they are conditioned by the automatic prosodic alternation rules which govern the position of quantity in CSS; conditioned morphologically, they are distinctly morphophonemic; when functioning as free variants in two coexisting accentual norms (conservative and innovative), they are not mandatory, however. They are discussed in the accent and vowel alternations notes to the individual declensional classes I-III, and to the adjectives and pronoun tables.

(2) The Vowel ∿ Zero Alternation. There are four vowels which alternate with zero in the nominal system of CSS: /ə, *i*, *o*, *á*/; the most

frequent is /ə/, the most restricted is /*o*/. The alternating vowel ordinarily appears in consonantal groups before a zero desinence to break up inadmissible consonantal clusters of the types: consonant + consonant (e.g., *dếdək* : *dếdka*, Class I; *lấdja* : *lấdij*, Class II; *têžək* : *têžka*, adj.), consonant + sonorant (e.g., *vếtər* : *vếtra*, Class I; *sêstra* : *sêstər*, Class II; *bolézən* : *bolézni*, Class III); and sonorant + sonorant (e.g., *mốrje* : *mốrij*, Class I; *mírən* : *mírnega*, adj., *arbitrấrən* : *arbitrấrnega*). In the nominal system, the vowel ∿ zero alternations are found in all three declensions and in the adjectival inflection; their types, occurrences and conditions are specified in the respective sections of our survey of the nominal inflectional pattern.

(3) The Grave ∿ Acute Vowel Alternation. The grave ∿ acute vowel alternation of the /*o*/ ∿ /*e*/ type is in the nominal system limited to desinential morphemes. It occurs after morphophonemically soft consonants : *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*, and affects the following two groups of forms:

(a) the gender-number suffix of the neuter gender substantives, adjectives, and adjectival pronouns in their nom. (-acc.) sg. form; e.g., *sonce* vs. *mesto*, *domače* vs. *bogato*, *moje* vs. *njegovo*; and

(b) the instr. sg., gen. and dat. pl., dat.-instr. dual desinences in the declension of the Class I substantives; e.g., *orač* : *oračem* : *oračev* : *oračem* : *oračema* vs. *rak* : *rakom* : *rakov* : *rakom* : *rakoma*; *polje* : *poljem* : *poljema* vs. *mesto* : *mestom* : *mestoma*.

Vocalic Alternations in the Verbal System:

(1) The Tense ∿ Lax Vowel Alternation in the verb system follows the prosodic alternations of the CSS conjugational pattern. It is conditioned by the rules which govern the position of quantity in a verbal form. Any switch of accent to the vowels /*e*/ and /*o*/ automatically introduces an /*ế*/ ∿ /*ȇ*/ or /*ố*/ ∿ /*ȏ*/ type alternation. Predictable in terms of grammatical and structural categories, they are distinctly morphophonemic and, in most instances mandatory. They occur in all morphophonemically non-accented (C type) stems in the following categories: imperative sg., present tense, masc. sg. -*l*- participle, passive participle, verbal substantive, the supine, and in some of the same categories in a number of stems morphologically accented on the final syllable. Their types, occurrences, and conditions are specified in their respective

sections in our survey of the verbal conjugation pattern. E.g., basic stem *nosi* : imper. sg. *nôsi*, 1 sg. pres. *nósim*, masc. sg. *-l-* part. *nôsil*, pass. part. *nóšen*, vb. subst. *nóšenje*, supine *nôsit*.

(2) The Vowel ∿ Zero Alternation is found in nine verbal stems. The vowels which alternate with zero are /ê/, /é/, and /ó/, each found in three stems. The zero alternant appears in inflectional forms with consonantal desinences and is non-productive.

E.g., basic stem *bêr*, 1 sg. pres. *bêr + e-m* : inf. *bra + ti*; *męlj*, *mêljem* : *mléti*; *kolj*, *kóljem* : *kláti*. This alternation is represented by the verbs *brati berem*, *prati perem*, *dreti derem*, *mleti meljem*, *srati serjem*, *stlati steljem*, *klati koljem*, and *prati porjem*.

(3) The Grave ∿ Acute Vowel Alternation, /o/ ∿ /e/, is, in the verbal system, an essential part of the CSS derivational system. While occurring only sporadically in the inflections themselves, it is found in the adjectival gender-number suffix for the neuter sg. form of the present participles; e.g., basic stem *brani* : complex present part. masc. *bran + èč*, fem. *bran + éč-a* : neut. *bran + éč-e*.

In the aspect morphology the grave ∿ acute vowel change regulates the alternation of the *-ova-* derivational suffix; e.g., inf. *kupova + ti* vs. *varčeva + ti*, *očisti + ti* vs. *očiščeva + ti*.

CONSONANTAL ALTERNATIONS The two types of consonantal alternations in Contemporary Standard Slovene are known as "substitutive softenings" of Type I and Type II.

In the substitutive softening Type I alternation (*K* ∿ *Č*), velars and a series of non-velar consonants and their clusters alternate with corresponding palatal consonants and clusters. In the substitutive softening Type II alternation (*K* ∿ *C*), velars alternate with corresponding dentals.

(a) The substitutive softening alternations Type I are:

k ∿ *č*
g ∿ *ž*
h ∿ *š*

t ∿ *č*
c ∿ *č*
d ∿ *j*
s ∿ *š*
z ∿ *ž*

sk ∿ *šč*
st ∿ *šč*
zd ∿ *ž*
sl ∿ *šlj*

r ∿ *rj*
l ∿ *lj*
n ∿ *nj*

p ∿ *plj*
b ∿ *blj*
v ∿ *vlj*
m ∿ *mlj*

The *K* ∿ *Č* alternations are found primarily in verbal inflection (and derivation) in some grammatical categories, distributed by classes and stem types, and only marginally in nominal inflections. E.g., in the verbal system, in present tense: in the monosyllabic stems of the type inf. *rêči*, 1 sg. present *rêčem* (basic stem *rek*), *lêči*, *léžem* (*lẹg*); and in the polysyllabic stems of the type inf. *lagáti*, 1 sg. present *lážem* (basic stem *lag-ă*), *klîcati* : *klîčem* (*klic-a*), *posláti* : *pôšljem* (*posl-a*); in the imperative paradigm of the polysyllabic stems of the type inf. *lagáti*, imper. *lâži lážite* (*lag-ă*), *rêzati* : *rêži rêžite* (*rẹ́z-a*); and in the passive participle of a class of *-i* stems, e.g., inf. *lomíti* : pass. part. *lómljen* (basic stem *lomi*), *zagozdíti* : *zagožèn* (*zagozdî*), *zagreníti* : *zagrenjèn* (*zagrene*).

(b) The substitutive softening Type II alternations are:

k ∿ *c*
g ∿ *z*

In the CSS norm, Type II alternations are found in the imperative paradigm of the consonantal stems closed by a velar; e.g., inf. *rêči* (basic stem *rek*), imper. *rêci recîte*, *lêči* : *lézi lézite* (*lẹg*). In most dialects as well as in the colloquial standard the dental alternants are replaced by palatals.

Both types of substitutive softenings are characteristic in the CSS norm only for the verbal system. In declensions, except in residual forms which are archaic, they are absent; they do not occur in adjectives. In substantives one may consider, e.g., nom. sg. *okó* : gen. sg. *očésa* : nom. pl. *očî*, *uhó* : *ušésa*, *igó* : *ižésa* for Type I; and nom. sg. *vôlk* : nom. pl. *volcjé*, and nom. sg. *otròk* : nom. pl. *otrôci* : loc. pl. *otrócih* for Type II. In addition, the substitutive softening Type I alternations occur in formation of comparatives before suffixes *-š-* and *-j-*; e.g., *húd* : *hújši*, *mlád* : *mlájši*, *drág* : *drážji*, *ják* : *jáčji*. On the other hand, the *K* ∿ *C* type alternation is relatively well preserved in some peripheral Northwestern dialects.

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

The morphological structure of CSS is fundamentally close to the morphological structures of most Slavic langauges. The difference with those langauges which retain inflections consists in the inventory of grammatical categories and their forms, and in the structural properties of grammatical forms and their functions. In general, Slovene shares its grammatical categories with other Slavic languages. It differs from them in that it possesses the category of dual, and that its nominal system does not possess a special morphological form to express appeal (vocative).

By morphological grammatical categories we understand the grammatical categories distinctive for a morphological form-class, i.e., the general formal and semantic properties which bring together words of different concrete-lexical meanings into the same form-class. The grammatical categories are inherent, as gender in substantives and aspect in verbs, or syntactically expressed, as gender and number in adjectives. Together with their formal classes they make up the paradigmatic system of Slovene morphology.

The basic grammatical categories of the CSS nominal "parts of speech" are: *gender*, *number*, *case*, the *animate/inanimate* distinction in substantives, the *definite/indefinite*, and the *positive/non-positive* oppositions in adjectives. The basic grammatical categories of the CSS verbal forms are: *aspect*, *voice*, *person*, *number* and marginally *gender*, *tense*, *mood*, and *taxis*. The presence or absence of some of these categories in an inflectional form makes the inflectional forms of the CSS conjugation finite and non-finite; a *finite* form is marked by the category of person (and sometimes gender), a *non-finite* form does not express person. In addition, the CSS inflectional forms are either *simple* or *compound*. To the simple belong the present tense, the imperative, three non-finite inflectional paradigms (past participle, passive participle, and complex present participle), and six non-finite inflectional forms: verbal substantive, supine, infinitive, past adverb, present adverb, and simple present participle. The compound forms of CSS include the compound tenses: past, pluperfect and future, the present and past conditional, and all paradigms of passive.

THE CATEGORY OF GENDER In the Slavic languages, gender is inherent in substantives, inflected in adjectivals, not expressed in pronouns. Slovene, however, has extended it to personal pronouns, and marginally to verbal inflection.

A CSS substantive belongs to one of three genders: masculine, feminine, or neuter. Semantically, masculine and feminine express natural gender and neuter designates its absence. Thus, neuter is marked with regard to masculine and feminine (neuter cannot designate sex as masculine and feminine can), and feminine is marked in respect to masculine (feminine cannot designate a male sex but masculine does designate both sexes).[7]

Grammatically, gender tends to be defined by form and occurrence. Thus masculine substantives in the nom. sg. form end in =#, and have in the gen. sg. form *-a* or *-u*; feminine substantives have in the nom. sg. form *-a* or *-#*, and in the gen. sg. form *-e* or *-i*; neuter substantives have in the nom. sg. form *-o* or *-e*, and in the gen. sg. form *-a*. Masculine adjectives have in the nom. sg. *-#*, in the gen. sg. *-a*; the feminine adjectives in corresponding forms *-a* and *-e*, and neuter gender adjectives *-o* or *-e*, and *-a*. The indeclinable substantive and adjective gender can be expressed only syntactically.

The departures from this basic distribution are also found elsewhere in the Slavic languages: substantives in *-a*, denoting male sex (e.g., *sluga*, *vojvoda*, *oproda*), are formally treated as feminine; substantives in *-o* or *-e*, denoting male or female sex (e.g., *fantȅ*, *deklȅ*), are formally of neuter gender. While all these substantives follow their natural gender syntactically, the neuter gender in the latter class adds a pejorative shade of meaning to the substantive.

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[7] The grammatical oppositions underlying grammatical categories are binary, with one of the members of the opposition (the marked member) specifying a property which is not specified in the opposite (unmarked) member of the opposition. The information conveyed by the marked member usually states the absence or the presence of a property, while the unmarked member does not negate the absence or the presence of a given property. The concept of markedness has been discussed by Roman Jakobson; cf. his "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums," *Charisteria Guilelmo Mathesio . . . oblata* (Prague, 1932), 74-84; and in *Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb* (Harvard University, 1957). For its application to Slovene see R. Lencek 1972, and J. Toporišič 1976.

A few substantives such as *grez*, *lov*, *mel*, *sled*, may formally participate in different genders; e.g., masc. *gréz gréza*, *lov lȍva*, *mȇl mȇla*, *sléd sledȗ*; fem. *grȇz grȇzi*, *lőv lovȋ*, *mȇl melȋ*, *slȇd sledȋ*. At least one substantive, *pot*, tends to be semantically differentiated in different genders; e.g., fem. *pót potí* 'path, road,' masc. *pőt pȍta* 'way' (in *križpot* 'crossway'); neut. *pőt pȍta* (in an abstract meaning, e.g., *božja pota* 'pilgrimages').

A borrowed substantive can either be masculine (e.g., *forum*, *fleš*, *roló*, *tấksi*, *bikini*, *komité*, *finale*) or of feminine (*funkcija*, *lupa*, *butik*, *miss*, *lady*) gender, but never neuter. The borrowed substantives ending in *-o* and *-u* are masculine gender (*loto*, *nivo*, *kino*, *radio*, *kanu*).

The gender of a substantive head-word determines the gender of an adjectival, pronominal, or some verbal form in agreement with a context. Conversely, gender of a substantive may be expressed syntactically through the agreement of a modifier. To a native speaker of Slovene the selective juxtaposition of an adjectival word, e.g., possessive pronoun masc. *naš*, fem. *naša*, neut. *naše*, helps to determine the gender of a substantive. E.g., *naš sluga*, *naš fantȅ*, *naš fleš*, *naš kino*, *naš kanu*; *naša pot*, *naša mami*, *naša dekle*, *naša butik*; *naše veselje*, *naše mesto*.

The formal gender distinctions in adjectivals are kept in all three numbers in the nom. sg. case, in singular (e.g., masc. *bogat*, fem. *bogata*, neut. *bogato*), plural (e.g., *bogati*, *bogate*, *bogata*), and in the dual (e.g., *bogata*, *bogati*, *bogati*). In the oblique cases the masculine and neuter paradigms are opposed to the feminine paradigm only in singular; gender is not distinguished in the plural and dual oblique cases.

On the other hand, Slovene has extended the category of gender to personal pronouns and optionally to verbal desinences.

Gender distinctions are found in all Slavic languages in the 3rd person of personal pronouns in singular; Slovene has them in all three numbers; e.g., sg. *ȍn*, *ȏno*, *ȏna*, dual masc. *ȏnadva*, fem. and neut. *ȏnidve* ∿

ônedve; pl. masc. *ôni*, neut. *ôna*, fem. *ône*. The CSS literary norm also possesses masculine and feminine-neuter forms for the first and second persons in the dual and plural; e.g., 1 dual masc. *mídva*, fem. and neut. *mídve* ∿ *médve*, 1 pl. *mí* and *mé*. In all instances gender distinctions appear only in the nominative case.

CSS knows also an extension of the category of gender into both the dual category's present tense personal forms and the imperative paradigms. The terminal person-number suffixes for the dual have a set of optional gender alternants for feminine and neuter, viz.:

	MASCULINE	FEMININE/NEUTER
1st Person	*dela-va*	*dela-ve*
2nd Person	*dela-ta*	*dela-te*
3rd Person	*dela-ta*	*dela-te*

The category of gender in compound forms, as expressed in the past participle, remains implemented in all three numbers, as in adjective.

Gender category in CSS is further displayed in the cardinal numerals 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' and 'four.' For *êden*, *ȇno*, *ȇna* three forms exist as elsewhere in the Slavic languages. CSS 'two,' 'three,' and 'four,' have a masculine form opposed to a feminine/neuter form: *dvá*, *obá* vs. *dvé*, *obé*; *tríje* ∿ *trijé* vs. *trí*, *štírje* vs. *štîri*, but again — only in the nominative case.

THE CATEGORY OF ANIMATION (animate/inanimate) in the Slavic languages consists in a formal identity of the accusative case of animate nouns with the genitive and of inanimate nouns with the nominative. In CSS substantives, adjectives and pronominal adjectives it is formally expressed in masculine singular, in pronominal substantives referring to substantives which denote persons and animals, also in masculine gender in all three numbers.

In the opposition animate/inanimate the inanimate category is marked (it cannot designate animate beings) and the animate category unmarked (it includes both animate and inanimate objects). E.g., names of diseases: *rak*, *volk*, *slepič*; mushrooms: *jur*, *jurček*, *karželj*, *goban*; cards: *as*, *križ*, *pik*, *pagat*; wines: *vipavec*, *bizeljčan*; cars: *ford*, *spačək, folksvagən*; stars: *Mars, Jupitər, Merkur*; sport clubs: *Partizan*; titles of newspapers: *Poročevalec*; and others: *mrtvəc, mrtvak, duh.*

THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER There are three number categories in CSS: singular, plural, and dual. With respect to the singular and plural, dual is a marked category. In the Slovene nominal system, its forms are used only when they refer to explicitly counted subjects and objects (e.g., *obe roki, dve nogi* vs. pl. *roke, noge*); in the Slovene verbal system whenever its forms refer to two actors. It has been said that Slovene represents a type of a language of verbal dual (L. Tesnière).

In the binary system of the CSS number, the dual, in fact, represents a twice marked category; first as a category designating non-singular ("more than one") in opposition to the unmarked singular ("one") which does not exclude the designation of plurality) and secondly, as a category designating non-plural ("two") in opposition to the plural ("more than two"), which is the unmarked member of this second opposition.

As in other Slavic languages, some CSS substantives are inherently singular (*singularia tantum*; e.g., *zlato, les, denar*), while others are inherently plural (*pluralia tantum*; e.g., *vrata, jasli*). While the number agreement of the latter is normally in plural, they still can be quantified with numeral adjectives: *enoj, dvoj, troj, četvor*, etc. Some of these substantives appear with feminine gender agreement (e.g., *lesene duri so* 'a wooden door is'; *moje gosli pojejo* 'my violin sings'; also: *vile, grablje, klešče, škarje, toplice, sani, garje, nečkè, sanke, hlače, jasli, prsi*); some with neuter gender (e.g., *tvoja usta so* 'your mouth is'; also: *vrata, drva, tla, jetra, ledja*); some with masculine gender agreement (e.g., *naočniki so mi padli* 'my glasses dropped').

There are two main features of the dual in Slovene today. First, it expresses arithmetic duality, it indicates two entities; e.g., *moji dve očesi* 'my two eyes.' It does not stand for a single unity of two parts or for paired objects, for which CSS consistently uses plural; e.g., *moje oči* 'my eyes.' Secondly, it is anaphoric: dual forms are used with the numeral *dva/dve, oba/obe* when two entities are mentioned for the first time in a communication. Once the anaphoric dual had been introduced, the dual without numerals follows. E.g., *Živela sta dva brata. Oba sta hodila na delo v bližnje mesto. Nekoč brata prideta domov pozno ponoči.* This is the new free dual of CSS.

Formally, the dual paradigm is simplified and reduced to maximally four forms in all declensions; it has two syncretisms: nominative-accusative, and dative-instrumental; its genitive-locative case forms are shared with the corresponding plural forms.

It is usually said that Slovene "preserved" the category of dual of an older stage. In the Slovene dialects, however, the dual category has been losing ground for centuries. Its presence in the literary norm is due to the intervention of grammarians, and in the spoken standard to the special historical factors which helped to mold contemporary Slovene. The literary norm was codified in the beginning of the nineteenth century on the basis of the sixteenth-century Slovene. Thus a disintegrating system was restored, the old dual forms were reintroduced, a vanishing category was revived, and the feeling for its obligatoriness slowly reestablished.

THE CATEGORY OF CASE Slovene has basically four distinct declensional patterns: one for substantives, one for adjectives and most nonpersonal pronouns, one for personal pronouns proper (first and second person and the reflexive pronoun *sebe*), and one for interrogative and relative pronouns (*kdo*, *kaj*; *kdor*, *kar*). The patterns of three declensions are productive: the I. and II. declension in substantives, and the adjective declension. The remaining are unproductive.

The CSS declension has six cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, dative and instrumental, formally and semantically well delimited. The single cases may be defined in terms of their basic grammatical meanings as follows: the nominative is the "name-form" and is used in dictionaries; in a sentence it functions as the subject. The accusative usually presents the goal of an action. The genitive expresses limitation and is characterized by a maximal number of possibilities for combination with prepositions. While the basic meaning of the locative is limitation in space and time, the instrumental has a wider range of functions and meanings, all of which stand outside the central syntactic relations; both of these cases are used only with prepositions. There is no special form in Slovene for direct appeal (vocative), for which the nominative singular is used.

When the six cases of CSS are grouped into classes characterized by the presence or absence of a particular semantic mark, there seem to emerge three fundamental invariant general meanings in their system. Following Roman Jakobson, one may characterize them as (1) directional, (2) limitational (or quantifying), and (3) peripheral.[8] In Jakobson's system, whose application to Slovene without a previous analysis of its case system can be only tentative, the two directional cases, the dative and accusative, indicate "the goal of the message" (as opposed to other, non-directional cases); two limitational cases, the genitive and locative, focus upon "the extent to which the entity takes part in the message" (as opposed to other, non-limitational cases); and three peripheral cases (the instrumental, dative, locative) assign to the entity "an accessory place in the message" (as opposed to other, non-peripheral cases). The nominative case, which does not take part in any of these relations, is opposed to all other cases as unmarked vs. marked. In the traditional classification, both directional cases are known as the direct, the limitational and the peripheral as the oblique cases.

Except in the dual, the range of the CSS case syncretisms is moderate. In the substantive declension, for instance, one masculine plural paradigm still possesses six case distinctions (e.g., of the type *mož*), while the more typical paradigm (e.g., *rak*) has only five, with a neutralization of the opposition between the nom. and instr. In singular, masculine substantives have four distinctions, all neutralizing the opposition between the dative and locative, the accusative and genitive for animates, or the accusative and nominative for masc. inanimate substantives.

Neuter substantives neutralize the oppositions between the nominative and accusative, and between the dative and locative in singular, but only the opposition between nominative and accusative in the plural.

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[8] Such a grouping has been arrived at by R. Jakobson 1958 in his analysis of the Russian case system; for its application to the Serbocroatian case system see Milka Ivić, "On the Structural Characteristics of the Serbocroatian Case System," *IJSLP* 4 (1961), 38-47.

Feminine substantives of the II. declension have five case distinctions in the plural (they neutralize the nominative and accusative), and four case distinctions in the singular (here they neutralize the dative-locative and the accusative-instrumental oppositions). Feminine substantives of the III. declension have four case distinctions in the plural (here: acc. = nom. = dat.) and three case distinctions in singular (acc. = nom., and gen. = loc. = dat.).

The dual has only two case distinctions and a uniform neutralization structure in all substantival declensions; it neutralizes the nominative and accusative, and the dative and instrumental cases.

Declined are all substantives of the native stock and most of the borrowed ones. A major exceptional class are feminine nouns and proper names which do not end in a non-stressed *-a*; e.g., *Artemida* is declined, *Artemis* is not; *butik*, *species*, *lady*, *madam*, *Fani*, *Nives*, *Karmen* and *Mary* are not declined. There is also a small number of indeclinable masculine gender borrowings; e.g., *foto*, *bikini*.

There are a number of indeclinable adjectives, some with gender (e.g., *rad rada rado* 'glad,' *tešč tešča tešče* 'empty'), and some without it (e.g., *žal*). A new suffix in such a form restores the gender (e.g., *všečen všečna všečno*). Borrowed adjectival stems, if they are not suffixed, have neither gender nor case. E.g., *šik*, *fair*, *lila*; in conversational language also *fejst*, *ledig*, *fajn*, *prima*, *super*.

The relative pronoun *ki* is also indeclinable; it expresses case analytically in combination with personal pronouns (e.g., nom. sg. *ki*, masc. gen. acc. sg. *ki ga*, dat. sg. *ki mu*) or is replaced by corresponding cases of *kateri*.

For the cardinal numerals "five" and up, including the forms of the pattern *enaindvajset* 'twenty-one,' *dvaindvajset* 'twenty-two,' the literary norm calls for the case category. *Sto* 'hundred' and *tisoč* 'thousand,' when used as numerals, are not declined. On the other hand, in the spoken standard there is a tendency to eliminate case in cardinal numerals: only cardinals standing for digits and simple tens are declined, others are used in their nominative-accusative form, particularly after prepositions and adverbs; e.g., *od sedemindvajset do trintrideset ljudi* 'from twenty-seven to thirty-three people.'

THE OPPOSITION OF DEFINITE/INDEFINITE characterizes CSS adjectives. The definite form of an adjective is designated by the special desinence *-i* (e.g., *mladi* 'the young one' vs. *mlad* 'young'; however, never for the possessive adjectives in *-ov*/*-ev* and *-in*, e.g., *bratov*, *sestrin*). Its general meaning is to present the quality of an adjective as one already known. The indefinite form of an adjective is unmarked with respect to its definite form in that it cannot convey this information. E.g., *Pred menoj je bil mlad fant* 'A young man stood before me,' vs. *Mladi fant me je pogledal* 'The young man looked at me.'

The category of definiteness is formally expressed only in the nominative/accusative singular masculine form of an adjective, and employed only when an adjective is used attributively. When employed predicatively, only the indefinite forms of adjectives are used (e.g., *Ta človek je mlad* 'This man is young'). When used attributively as a modifier in a noun cluster of the type *pralni stroj* 'washing machine,' only definite forms are used, however. In addition, a number of syntactic restrictions limit the use of indefinite forms; thus, an indefinite form cannot be employed if it is governed by a demonstrative and possessive pronoun or by a possessive adjective (e.g., *Ta mladi fant me je pogledal* 'This young man looked at me'; *moj mladi prijatelj* 'My young friend'; and *Očetov mladi prijatelj* 'Father's young friend').

THE OPPOSITION POSITIVE/NON-POSITIVE in adjectives. CSS adjectives participate in the opposition of gradation. There are three categories of adjectival forms expressing the relative amount of a quality in compared objects or processes. As in most Slavic languages, the category of the positive degree expresses a quality without any reference to the same quality of another object or process (e.g., *mlad*, *velik*, *zdrav*); the category of the comparative a quality in relation to the same quality of one or more other objects or processes (e.g., *mlajši*, *večji*, *bolj zdrav*); and the category of the superlative an absolute degree of a quality present in an object or a process (e.g., *najmlajši*, *največji*, *najbolj zdrav*).

The positive degree form is unmarked with respect to its non-positive degree forms in that it does not give any information about these relations: in the opposition of non-positive degree forms, the comparative seems to be unmarked with respect to the marked superlative. The formal relation between both non-positive degree categories confirms this opposition: while they both exist only in definite form shape, their superlative is formally marked by an addition of the superlative prefix *naj-*.

A number of CSS adverbs also participate in the opposition of gradation; e.g., positive *daleč*, comparative *dalje*, superlative *najdalje*; *visoko, više, najviše*.

THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT. Every verb obligatorily belongs to one of two classes of aspects: perfective or imperfective. Thus, the majority of Slovene verbs occur in two formal varieties, which implies that the action is understood as limited (a perfective verb, e.g., *pogledati*), and the other as unlimited (an imperfective verb, e.g., *pogledovati*). The perfective aspect denotes that the action of the verb has one single termination; the imperfective aspect does not say anything about the termination of the action, which can mean that the action is conceived of as terminated, having several terminations (repeated or habitual), or no termination at all (incomplete action or action in progress; e.g., *gledati*). This makes the imperfective verbs non-marked with respect to their perfective opposites. As in Russian, this grammatical system of aspectual correlations is based on the absolute identity of lexical meaning of two formally related verbs participating in such an opposition.

There are, however, some important differences between the functioning of aspect in CSS and Russian, e.g., in the degree of its systematization, in the extent of the lexicalization of its aspectual pairs, and particularly in its relation to tense.[9]

THE CATEGORY OF VOICE (Genus Verbi). Every verb obligatorily belongs to one of two classes of the voice category which governs the relationship between the action denoted by the verb and its participants. The verbs are either non-transitive (intransitive), admitting only one primary participant, the grammatical subject (e.g., *rasti* 'grow,' *goreti* 'burn'), or transitive, admitting two primary participants, a subject, and a direct object (e.g., *gledati* 'look at'). The non-transitive voice is unmarked in respect to the more specific transitive.

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[9] In Slovene, for example, the perfective verb can be used for repeated or habitual actions even when it appears with such adverbials as *always*, *every time*, which is impossible in Russian; e.g., *Vsakokrat ko je vstopila v sobo, smo vstali* 'We got up every time she entered the room,' Russ.: *Každyj raz, kogda ona vxodila v komnatu, my vstavali.*

The transitiveness and intransitiveness are formally not expressed in CSS. The intransitive verbs are negatively marked by the lack of a passive participle and passive constructions, and only to a limited degree by the reflexive *se*, which in Slovene behaves as other enclitics (e.g., *zagledati se* 'fall in love'; *fant se je zagledal*).

THE CATEGORY OF PERSON of the finite verbal forms exhibits in CSS the same basic correlations (non-personal vs. personal) as in other Slavic languages. In the personal forms, the third person is unmarked with respect to the first and the second persons, and the second person (addressee) is unmarked with respect to the most specific first person (addresser).

THE CATEGORY OF TENSE. In CSS there are three primary tenses: the present, future, and past, and one relative tense, the pluperfect. Morphologically, however, tense is expressed only for the present; other tenses are compound.

Semantically, the three primary tenses differ as follows: whereas the present may designate that a narrated event is simultaneous, prior, or posterior to the speech event, the past is restricted to indicate that the narrated event occurred prior to the speech event. Thus, the past functions as a marked category with respect to the present, and the present assumes a spectrum of temporal meanings which includes all three time levels: the time of speaking (including the all-inclusive time), past, and future. It is at this point that aspectual oppositions create some apparent complexities. Two such features are most often referred to as characteristic peculiarities of the tense structure of contemporary Slovene.

One concerns the use and function of the perfective aspect verbs in the present tense form to denote an event simultaneous with the moment of speaking, a usage which at least on the level of their standards, seems to be foreign to other Slavic languages. As is known, a semantically limited group of Slovene perfective verbs are used in utterances of pledges that at the moment of speech relate to the person of the speaker: *Prisežem* . . . ('I swear . . .'), *Obljubim* . . . ('I promise . . .'), *Odpovem se* . . . ('I remounce . . .'), *Prekličem* . . . ('I abjure . . .'), *Zapovem* . . . ('I command . . .'). The "tense" of such performative utterances (usually referred to by the name of the *presens effectivum*) cannot be considered a category different from the present tense, nor can it be treated as "disruptive" within the system of Slavic aspect. We would prefer to describe it as a contextual temporal category (perhaps even modal by its nature), limited to a few verbs (*verba dicendi*), reduced to simple formulae, restricted to the person of the speaker, and in all these restrictions, not entirely unknown to other Slavic languages (Galton 1979).

The second "peculiarity" of the Slovene tense system is its use of two alternative patterns for expression of the future tense of perfective verbs: a compound pattern with the auxilliary *bom, boš, bo* + *-l-* participle of a verb, and the present tense form of a perfective verb (as in other Slavic languages). E.g., *To bom napravil/delal jutri*, and *To napravim jutri* 'I shall do this tomorrow.' The distribution of these two patterns in the dialects is neither even nor uniform (the Upper Carniola dialects prefer the perfective present, the Styria dialects the compound pattern); the CSS norm, however, has both. The only restraint on the use of the perfective present pattern seems to be imposed by its potentially modal meaning, inherent in its future tense function.[10]

The use of the pluperfect, a relative tense for the past (e.g., *Kar je bil obljubil/obljubljal, to je tudi napravil*, 'He carried out what he had promised') existing in some Slovene dialects as a form but not with the same function among the various dialects, is not mandatory in CSS.

THE CATEGORY OF MOOD. The category of mood which is shared by all finite forms of the verbal system involves the opposition potential vs. indicative. The indicative mood is unmarked, the potential is marked.

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[10] To resolve an ambiguous context as, e.g., *Kdo mi odpre vrata?* 'Who will open the door?' vs. 'Who might/could open the door?', a compound future tense form will be used: *Kdo mi bo odprl vrata?*

The CSS potential has two temporal levels: present conditional (e.g., *Ko bi vedel* 'If I knew') and past conditional (*Ko bi bil vedel* 'If I had known'). Outside this basic opposition stands the imperative category. As a system of "appeal" forms directed to the addressee, the imperative category is limited to the second person of all three numbers. In the dual and plural it is used also as an appeal for the addresser's participation in the narrated event. The singular form may be used as an indirect appeal to a third person.

To express an indirect appeal (to a third person) or an appeal the speaker makes to himself (first person), a syntactic injunctive construction is used in Slovene, traditionally called "optative" (e.g., *naj misli* 'let him think'; *naj pomislim* 'let me think'). This compound form is not an independent grammatical category. Its present tense forms complement the imperative paradigm. E.g.:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	DUAL
1st Person	*naj delam*	*delajmo*	*delajva*
2nd Person	*delaj*	*delajte*	*delajta*
3rd Person	*naj dela*	*naj delajo*	*naj delata*

TAXIS, as a category, characterizes the relation between two narrated events without reference to the speech event. In the Slovene verb system taxis may be defined as antecedent/non-antecedent. Antecedent is the marked member of the opposition; it characterizes the narrated event as having occurred prior to another narrated event. In CSS, antecedent taxis governs the relation of narrated events in past time contexts, epxressed by the gerundial forms, the pluperfect tense and the past conditional.

NOMINAL INFLECTIONAL PATTERN

The nominal inflection of Contemporary Standard Slovene is presented here in a structural outline of four declensionsal patterns: substantives (Class I-III), adjectives, and two classes of pronominal substantives: personal pronouns, and interrogative and relative pronouns.

			MASCULINE				NEUTER		
CSS NORM SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	ràk	móž	glás	stəbə̀r	léto	srcé	dnò
		A	ráka	možá	glás	stəbə̀r	léto	srcé	dnò
		G	ráka	možá	glasú	stəbrà	léta	srcá	dnà
		L	ráku	móžu	glásu	stəbrù	létu	sŕcu	dnù
		D	ráku	móžu	glásu	stəbrù	létu	sŕcu	dnù
		I	rákom	móžem	glásom	stəbròm	létom	sŕcem	dnòm
	PLURAL	N	ráki	možjé	glasóvi	stəbrì	léta	sŕca	dnà
		N	ráke	možé	glasóve	stəbrè	léta	sŕca	dnà
		G	rákov	móž	glasóv	stəbrọ́v	lét	sŕc	dán
		L	rákih	možéh	glasóvih	stəbrìh	létih	sŕcih	dnéh
		D	rákom	možém	glasóvom	stəbròm	létom	sŕcem	dnòm
		I	ráki	možmí	glasóvi	stəbrì	léti	sŕci	dnì
	DUAL	N-A	ráka	možá	glasóva	stəbrà	léti	sŕci	dnì
		D-I	rákoma	možéma	glasóvoma	stəbromà	létoma	sŕcema	dnóma
PHONEMIC TONE SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	rȁk	mộž	glâs	stəbə̏r	lẹ́to	srcệ	dnȍ
		A	ráka	možâ	glâs	stəbə̏r	lẹ́to	srcệ	dnȍ
		G	ráka	možâ	glasû	stəbrȁ	lẹ́ta	srcâ	dnȁ
		L	ráku	mộžu	glásu	stəbrȕ	lẹ́tu	sr̂cu	dnȕ
		D	ráku	mộžu	glâsu	stəbrȕ	lẹ́tu	sr̂cu	dnȕ
		I	rákom	mộžem	glâsom	stəbrȍm	lẹ́tom	sr̂cem	dnȍm
	PLURAL	N	ráki	možjệ	glasộvi	stəbrȉ	lệta	sr̂ca	dnȁ
		A	ráke	možệ	glasộve	stəbrȅ	lệta	sr̂ca	dnȁ
		G	râkov	mọ́ž	glasọ́v	stəbrọ́v	lệt	sr̂c	dán
		L	râkih	možẹ́h	glasộvih	stəbrȉh	lệtih	sr̂cih	dnéh
		D	rákom	možẹ́m	glasộvom	stəbrȍm	lệtom	sr̂cem	dnȍm
		I	râki	možmí	glasộvi	stəbrȉ	lệti	sr̂ci	dnȉ
	DUAL	N-A	ráka	možâ	glasộva	stəbrȁ	lẹ́ti	sr̂ci	dnȉ
		D-I	rákoma	možẹ́ma	glasộvoma	stəbromȁ	lẹ́toma	sr̂cema	dnóma

Figure 29. SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION - CLASS I

Notice that our discussion of the desinences and of stem differentiation in general contains references neither to automatic morphophonemic alternations of the basic forms, nor to structural classes (e.g., the animate/inanimate category in masculine gender substantives or the neuter gender substantives in Class I). On the other hand, we combine our discussion of the tense ∿ lax vowel alternations in the stem with the discussion of the accent alternations to which they are subordinated. Notice also that in our treatment of the dual, the genitive-locative case desinences are not included in the basic paradigm.

Two sets of individual paradigm are given in our tables; one represents the notation of the paradigm according to the CSS norm based on phonemic quantity and stress, the other their notation according to the optional CSS norm based on phonemic tone and quantity.

Most desinences in our tables are unaccented; the accentually marked desinences are discussed individually.

SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION — CLASS I. To the substantive declension Class I belong the masculine and neuter substantives with the genitive singular desinence in *-a*. Their basic forms differ according to gender; the neuter gender substantives are distinguished in the nom.-acc. by the *-o* ending; the masculine substantives of this class by *-#* (acc. in *-#* or *-a*).

The masculine gender substantives of Class I are represented by four paradigms. The paradigm *ràk* typifies the substantives with the nonmobile accent on the stem, the paradigms *móž* and *glás* those with the mobile accent, and the *stəbə̀r* paradigm the substantives with the nonmobile accent on the desinence. The only productive pattern of masculine gender substantives is represented by the paradigm *ràk*.

The *móž* and *glás* patterns differ in their desinence and stem structure. In the main, the *móž* type represents a small group of monosyllabic stems. Its most characteristic desinences in the nom. pl. and instr. pl. are shared by the following stems *lás*, *móž*, *vóz*, *zób*, and by the plural *ljudjȇ*.

The paradigm *glás*, a sub-type of the mobile accent pattern, illustrates a relatively large group of monosyllabic substantives with a suffix *-ov-* in their non-singular forms. Among the most frequent substantives in this group are *brég, cvȇt, dár, dȏl, dóm, glás, gód, gòzd, grád, gròb, jȇz, lȇd, máh, méd, móst, nós, pás, plȃz, réd, rób, róg, sȃd, sȋn, slȇd, smrád, srȃm, stȃn, stráh, svȇt, tȃt, trák, vȃl, vȏlk, vȏz, vŕh, vȓt, zȋd.*

The paradigm *stəbə̀r* typifies the declension of substantives with a /ə/ or /#/ in their stem; the most frequent stems of this group are: *bə̀t, bəzə̀g, čəbə̀r, fantə̀k, hrbə̀t /hərbə̀t/, kupə̀c, məzə̀g, pəkə̀l, pə̀s, səmə̀nj, sə̏l, sə̀n, skədə̏nj, ščəpə̀c, žəbə̀lj.* All the substantives of this type in CSS have an optional paradigm with the non-mobile accent on the stem; e.g., sg. *stə̏bər, stə̏bra, stə̏bru, stə̏brom*.

The neuter gender substantives are represented by three paradigms. The paradigm *lȇto* typifies the substantives with the non-mobile accent on the stem; the paradigm *srcȇ* the substantives with the mobile accent, and *dnȍ* the substantives with the desinence-type accent. Tye only productive pattern of the neuter gender substantives is the pattern represented by the paradigm *lȇto*.

The paradigm *srcȇ* illustrates the declension of the following substantives: *blagó, gorjȇ, mesó, morjȇ, nebó, poljȇ, prosó, senó, srebró, testȏ, zlatȏ*. All these substantives have an optional pattern with the non-mobile accent on the stem; e.g., sg. *sŕce, sŕca, sŕcu, sŕcem*.

The paradigm *dnȍ* illustrates the declension of a few non-syllabic stems, e.g., *dnȍ, zlȍ, tlȁ* (pl.), and a few substantives with optional forms following the declensional type with the non-mobile accent on the stem (*lȇto* type); e.g., *səncȅ, cvrtjȅ* and *cvŕtje, drvȁ* and *dŕva* (pl.), *žganjȅ* and *žgánje*.

Desinences The basic forms of the desinences of the substantives declension Class I are:

N	A	G
-#/-o		-a/-ú
-om	-u	-u
I	D	L

N	A	G
-i/ -jé	-e	-ov/ -#
-i/ -mí	-om/ -ę́m	-ih/ -ę́h
I	D	L

N-A
-a
-oma
I-D

(1) Nominative singular. A number of neuter gender substantives with the mandatory addition of the suffixes *-et-* and *-en-* in all non-nom. (-acc.) sg. forms, have in nom. sg. the desinence *-e* which is not conditioned by the rule of the grave ∿ acute vowel alternation. E.g., nom. sg. *deklè* : gen. sg. *dekléta*, *imé* : *iména*. For the inventory of these substantives, see below.

(2) Genitive singular. The basic desinence of masculine and neuter substantives is the non-accented *-a* (e.g., *ráka*, *léta*). Some masculine gender substantives have an accented *-a* and an accented *-ú* desinence as alternants.

The accented *-á* (e.g., nom. sg. *bóg*, gen. sg. *bogá*) is the desinence of the following masculine substantives: *bóg*, *dólg*, *dúh*, *hód*, *lés*, *snég*, *svét*, *vóz*; it is used optionally (e.g., *nós* : *nósa* and *nosá*) with the following stems: *brég*, *gnój*, *nós*, *nóž*, *rób*, *róg*, *sók*, *vólk*, *vŕh*, *zób*, *zvón*, *žléb*.

The following monosyllabic masculine substantives (all with a long vowel in their stem) have an optional *-ú* desinence (e.g., *glás* : *glása* and *glasú*) : *dár*, *glád*, *glás*, *gód*, *grád*, *hlád*, *jéz*, *lán*, *lás*, *léd*, *lés*, *máh*, *méd*, *mír*, *móst*, *nós*, *pláz*, *pót*, *ród*, *sád*, *sín*, *sléd*, *smrád*, *srám*, *stán*, *stráh*, *tát*, *zíd*. The following additional stems may also have *-ú* in the gen. sg., although its use is rare: *cvét*, *klás*, *krás*, *mrák*, *pás*, *plód*, *plót*, *sát*, *trám*, *vrát*.

(3) Nominative plural. The basic desinence of masculine substantives is *-i*. The following five stems (all with a long vowel) have a mandatory *-jé* desinence which is accented: *lás*, *móž*, *vóz*, *zób*, and *ljudjé* (nom. sg. *člôvek*). E.g., *móž* : *možjé*.

A few other substantives: *bràt*, *dêd*, *fànt*, *kmèt*, *gòst*, and *gospód*, have an optional, non-accented *-je* desinence (e.g., *kmèt* : *kméti* and *kmêtje*). This is less frequent with *golób*, *grôf*, *ôče*, *sósed*.

(4) Genitive plural. The basic desinence of masculine substantives is *-ov*, of the neuter gender substantives *-#*. The following monosyllabic masculine stems (all with a long vowel) mandatorily appear with *-#*: *lás*, *móž*, *vóz*, *zób*; e.g., nom. sg. *móž* : gen. pl. *móž*. Two substantives with a short vowel in the stem also have *-#* in the gen. pl.: *kònj*,

otrȍk; these two substantives have a mandatory change of the quantity and quality of the vowel under stress in this case: *kőnj*, *otrők*.

One masculine gender substantive, *ljudjé* (sg. *člõvek*) has its gen. pl. form in *-i*; e.g., *ljudí*.

Notice that all masculine substantives with the extension *-ov-* in non-singular paradigms also have a gen. pl. *-#* desinence; e.g., nom. sg. *glás*, nom. pl. *glasővi* : gen. pl. *glasőv*.

(5) Locative plural. The basic desinence of masculine substantives is *-ih*. Five masculine gender stems: *lás*, *mőž*, *vőz*, *zőb* and *ljudjé*, have a mandatory *-éh* desinence which is accented; e.g., *mőž* : *možéh*.

Three neuter gender substantives, *drvà*, *tlà*, *səncè*, have their only locative plural in *-éh*; e.g., *drvéh*, *tléh*, *səncéh*.

A few monosyllabic masculine stems, e.g., *brég*, *vől*, *kől*, have the *-éh* desinence only optionally; e.g., *vòl* : *vôlih* and *voléh*. The desinence *-éh* occurs optionally also with some substantives of the type *stəbə̀r*, e.g., loc. pl. *stəbrȉh* ∿ *stəbréh*, *čəbrȉh* ∿ *čəbréh*, *hrbtȉh* ∿ *hrbtéh*.

(6) Dative plural. The basic desinence of masculine stems is *-om*. The following five substantives have a mandatory *-ém* desinence which is always accented: *lás*, *mőž*, *vőz*, *zőb*, *ljudjé*. E.g., nom. sg. *mőž* : *mo̱žém*.

(7) Instrumental plural. The basic desinence of masculine stems is *-i*. The following five substantives have a mandatory *-mí* under accent in this case: *láz*, *mőž*, *vőz*, *zőb*, *ljudjé*; e.g., *mőž* : *možmí*.

A few other monosyllabic stems, e.g., *vòl*, *róg*, *gròb*, have the desinence *-mi* optionally; e.g., *vòl* : *vôli* and *volmí*.

One neuter gender substantive, *drvà*, has only the instr. pl. desinence *-mi*, e.g., *drvmí*; another, *tlà* (pl.), has an optional *-émi*, e.g., *tlémi* and *tlí*.

(8) The masculine substantive *dán* is declined as follows: sg. nom.-acc. *dán*, gen. *dné* ∿ *dnéva*, loc. *dnévu* ∿ *dné*, dat. *dnêvu*, instr. *dném* ∿ *dnévom*; pl. nom. *dnévi*, acc. *dní* ∿ *dnêve*, gen. *dní*, loc. *dnêh* ∿

dnȇvih, dat. *dnȇm* ∿ *dnȇvom*, instr. *dnȇmi* ∿ *dnȇvi*; dual nom. *dnȇva*, acc. *dnȋ* ∿ *dnȇva*, dat.-instr. *dnȇma* ∿ *dnȇvoma*.

Stem Differentiation. The basic forms of the stems of Class I undergo the following types of modifications: (a) addition of the suffixes *-ov-*, *-j-*, *-n-*, *-t-*, *-et-*, *-en-* (1-7); (b) vowel ∿ zero alternations in the stem (8-9); and (c) suppletion of the stem (10).

Notice that the grave ∿ acute vowel alternations of the vowels under accent are described in our general discussion of morphophonemic alternations in CSS.

(1) The suffix *-ȏv-* */ǫv/*. A limited number of monosyllabic masculine stems form their plural and dual cases through addition of the unproductive suffix *-ȏv-*; e.g., *glás* : nom. pl. *glasȏvi* : nom. dual *glasóva*. This formation does not occur if a stem ends on one of the morphophonemically soft consonants *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*.

The most frequently used monosyllabic stems with the *-óv-* suffix are *brég, brȏd, cvét, dȃr, dȏlg, dȏm, dróg, dȗh, glás, gȏd, grȃd, jéz, krés, lés, lóg, méh, móst, nós, pás, pláz, plȏd, plȏt, réd, ród, róg, sȋn, slȃp, slȇd, stȃn, stráh, svȇt, tát, tók, trȃm, vál, vȇtər, vȏlk, vȏz, vrát, vȓt, vȓh, zȋd, zȏb, zvȏn, žlȇb.*

In numerous stems the plural forms with this extension have variants without *-ȏv-*; e.g., *móst* : *mostȏvi* ∿ *mósti*; *zȋd* : *zidȏvi* ∿ *zȋdi*; in numerous stems the forms with the *-ov-* sound archaic and dialectal (e.g., *lȇd* : *ledȏvi*, *lés* : *lesóvi*), and the dual forms with *-ȏv-* are very often not used at all.

(2) The suffix *-j-*. Most masculine stems, ending in *-r*, have an extension with the productive suffix *-j-* in all their non-nom. sg. forms. E.g., nom. sg. *gospodȃr* : gen. sg. *gospodȃrja*, *kurȋr* : *kurȋrja*, *rádar* : *rádarja*. A number of most frequent native stems and many borrowings do not have this extension (e.g., nom. sg. *gȏvor* : gen. sg. *gȏvora*) : *bíser, gȏvor, prôstor, sȇver, šôtor, tôvor, večȇr*; *sȋngular, plȗral, folklȏr, empir, zefir, Tatar, Madžar, Epir, Kašmir, januar* (and all the names of the months which end in *-r*).

The suffix *-j-* is used also in the stem *də̀ž* : *dəžjȁ*, and in all borrowed masculine gender substantives ending in a vowel, e.g., *komitȇ* : *komitȇja*, *tȃksi* : *tȃksija*.

(3) The suffix *-t-*. This suffix occurs with all Slovene masculine gender substantives ending in *-e*. E.g., nom. sg. *ôče* : gen. sg. *očêta*, *Tone* : *Toneta*, *Jože* : *Jožeta*.

(4) The suffix *-n-* is added to a few masculine stems ending in *-elj* (e.g., nom. sg. *nágelj* : gen. sg. *nágeljna*). In spoken Slovene this formation is productive; the CSS norm admits it only for: *nagelj*, *mandelj*, *Francelj*.

(5) The suffix *-et-*, productive for neuter gender substantives, designates the young of human beings and animals, but lately also has been used with objects; e.g., nom. sg. *déte* : gen. sg. *déteta*, *deklè* : *deklêta*, *fantè* : *fantêta*, *têle* : *telêta*, *plêče* : *plečêta*, *drvčè* : *drvčêta*.

(6) The suffix *-en-*. Ten neuter gender substantives in *-me* (*brême*, *plême*, *ráme*, *séme*, *slême*, *strême*, *tême*, *vrême*, *imé* and *víme*) have an extension with the suffix *-en-* in the non-nom. sg. cases (e.g., nom. sg. *vrême* : gen. sg. *vreména*).

(7) The suffix *-es-* is used in the following neuter gender substantives: *slovó*, *teló*, *koló*, *drevó*, *peró*, *črevó*, *nebó*, *čúdo*; *okó*, *uhó*, *igó*, and *ôje*. The formation is unproductive.

The substantives *oko*, *uho*, *igo*, have the substitutive softening of type I before the *-es-* suffix; e.g., nom. sg. *oko* : gen. sg. *očesa*, *uho* : *ušesa*, *igo* : *ižesa*.

Note the following limitations: *črevo* has the suffix *-es-* only in the singular, in the plural only *čreva*; *nebo* has the suffix *-es-* only in the plural (*nebêsa*) with a specialized meaning ('heaven'); the substantive *čudo* has both patterns (e.g., nom. sg. *čudo* : gen. sg. *čuda* and *čudesa*); the forms with the suffix *-es-*, however, are stylistically marked.

(8) In the masculine gender substantives of Class I the *vowel ∿ zero alternation* in most instances occurs before the -# desinence in the nom.-acc. sg. (a) in all stems with the derivational suffixes *-əc* and *-ək* (e.g., nom. sg. *starəc* : gen. sg. *starca*, *braləc* : *bralca*, *dedək* : *dedka*; however, *jezdec* : *jezdeca*, *tekmec* : *tekmeca*); (b) in numerous substantives with a consonant + sonorant, sonorant + sonorant, and a number

of stems with a consonant + a *lj* or *nj* cluster before the -# desinence (e.g., nom. sg. *posəl* : gen. sg. *posla*, *vetər* : *vetra*, *ovən* : *ovna*, *jarəm* : *jarma*, *kamən* : *kamna*; *čevəlj* : *čevlja*, *kašəlj* : *kašlja*, *rogəlj* : *roglja*, *brencəlj* : *brenclja*, *škorənj* : *škornja*, *səmənj* : *semnja*); and (c) in three non-syllabic stems: *pəs*, *səl*, *sən* (e.g., nom. sg. *pəs* : gen. sg. *psa*; however: *bət* : *bə̏ta*, *dəž* : *dəžjȁ*, *kəs* : *kə̏sa*). In all three groups of stems the vowel alternation with zero is /ə/; in one substantive the alternating vowel is /*o*/; e.g., *blágor* : *blágra*.

The /ə/ ∿ # alternation is productive and occurs in numerous borrowed stems ending in consonant + sonorant /*r*/ or /*l*/ clusters; e.g., *metər* : *metra*, *teatər* : *teatra*, *cikəl* : *cikla*, *ansambəl* : *ansambla*.

(9) The neuter gender substantives of Class I have *zero ∿ vowel alternations* before the -# desinence in the gen. pl.; a # ∿ /ə/ alternation in stems ending in consonant + sonorant, and sonorant + sonorant clusters (except where the final sonorant is *j*), e.g., nom. sg. *jêdro* : gen. pl. *jêdər*, *kraljéstvo* : *kraljéstəv*, *ôkno* : *ókən*, *sêdlo* : *sêdəl*; and a # ∿ /*i*/ alternation in stems ending in consonant + sonorant, and sonorant + sonorant clusters whose final sonorant is *j*; e.g., nom. sg. *obzidje* : gen. pl. *obzidij*, *morje* : *morij*, *gorovje* : *gorovij*, *naselje* : *naselij*, *pročelje* : *pročelij*, *veselje* : *veselij*, *znanje* : *znanij*.

Two neuter gender non-syllabic stems: *dnȍ*, *tlȁ* (pl.), have a non-productive # ∿ /*á*/ alternation in gen. pl. (e.g., *dnȍ* : *dán*, more frequently *dnȍv*; *tlȁ* : *tál*; however, *zlȍ* : *zə̏l*).

(10) One masculine gender substantive of Class I has a suppletive plural form; e.g., nom. sg. *člôvek*, nom.-acc. dual (*dva*) *človéka*, nom. pl. *ljudjé*.

Accent and Vowel Alternations. The following accent and vowel alternations take place within the frame of three basic morphological and accentual types of Class I substantives.

(1) Numerous masculine substantives with a non-mobile accent on the stem (*rák* type) and with a short accent in the final or only syllable of their basic form, undergo before all vocalic desinences (including -# in gen. pl.) an automatic lengthening of the accent. E.g., *brȁt* : *bráta*, *čȁs*, *dȉm*, *fȁnt*, *krȁj*, *krȕh*, *kȕp*, *prȁg*, *ptȉč*, *sȉr*, *škȁf*; *cigȁn*,

goljȕf, menȉh, modrȁs, podplȁt, urȁd, župàn; kmèt, dȅd, rèp, zȅt, obȅd, obrȅd, škȍf, brlȍg, pogȍj; žèp, mèč, bȍb, grȍf, dvȍr, gròb, kȍš, pòd, slȍj, slòn, spȍl, snȍp, stȍl, šòp, tròp, stròp, študènt, talènt, testamènt, patènt, cemènt.

Non-automatic, however, is the alternation of the accented /*e*/ and /*o*/ in these stems. In most cases (ab. 90%) short /*e*/ and /*o*/ alternate with long closed /*ẹ*/ and /*ọ*/; e.g., *kmèt* : *kméta*, *obȅd* : *obéda*, *brlȍg* : *brlóga*, *pogȍj* : *pogója*. The remaining 10% of the cases have the short /*e*/ and /*o*/ alternating with a long open /*e*/ and /*o*/; e.g., *žèp* : *žêpa*, *mèč* : *mêča*, *grȍf* : *grôfa*, *stȍl* : *stôla*. The substantives ending in -*ȅnt* tend to have open /*e*/ and /*o*/, e.g., *talȅnt* : *talênta*, *patȅnt* :*patênta* .

Two substantives of this class, *otròk*, *kònj*, have an *ȍ* ∿ *ó* alternation with change of quantity, and an /*o*/ ∿ /*ọ*/ alternation before the -# desinence in gen. pl.; e.g., nom. sg. *otrȍk* : gen. sg. *otrôka* : gen. pl. *otrók*; *kònj* : *kônja* : *kónj*.

(2) The mobility in the masculine gender substantives (mobile accent type *móž*) consists in a shift of the accent from the stem to the desinence in gen.(-acc.) sg. and in all forms of the plural and dual paradigm. In the sub-type *glás*, on the other hand, the accent shift from the stem to the desinence in gen.(-acc.) is optional, the shift from the stem to the predesinential suffix -*ov*- in the plural and dual, however, mandatory.

(3) The mobility in the neuter gender substantives (mobile accent type *srcé*) consists in an accent shift from the desinence to the stem in the loc.-dat. sg. and in all forms of the plural and dual paradigm.

The /*e*/ and /*o*/ under the shifted accent are closed /*ẹ*/ and /*ọ*/; e.g., nom. sg. *nebó* : loc.-dat. sg. *nêbu*, *morjé* : *môrju*. Three substantives: *gorjé*, *srebró*, *prosó*, have open /*e*/ and /*o*/; e.g., *srêbru*, *prôsu*.

(4) In the oxytonic type of substantives of Class I (*stəbə̀r*, *dnȍ*) the accent is always on the desinence. This accent is automatically short; it is long in the gen. pl. -*óv* (e.g., *stəbróv*), and in the alternating desinences for the loc. pl. (e.g., *stəbréh*, *dnéh*) and for the instr. pl. (e.g., *stəbrí*).

CSS NORM SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	lípa	gôra	stəzà	cérkəv
		A	lípo	goró	stəzò, -ó	cérkəv
		G	lípe	goré	stəzè, -é	cérkve
		L	lípi	gôri	stəzì	cérkvi
		D	lípi	gôri	stəzì	cérkvi
		I	lípo	goró	stəzò, -ó	cérkvijo
	PLURAL	N	lípe	goré, gôre	stəzè, -é	cérkve
		A	lípe	goré, gôre	stəzè, -é	cérkve
		G	líp	gór, gorá	stə̀z, stəzá	cérkəv, cerkvá
		L	lípah	goràh	stəzàh	cérkvah
		D	lípam	goràm	stəzàm	cérkvam
		I	lípami	gorámi	stəzámi	cérkvami
	DUAL	N-A	lípi	gôri	stəzì, -é	cérkvi
		D-I	lípama	goráma	stəzáma	cérkvama
PHONEMIC TONE SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	lípa	góra	stəzȁ	cẹ́rkəv
		A	lípo	gorộ	stəzȍ, -ộ	cẹ́rkəv
		G	lípe	gorẹ́	stəzȅ, -ẹ́	cẹ́rkve
		L	lípi	góri	stəzȉ	cẹ́rkvi
		D	lípi	góri	stəzȉ	cẹ́rkvi
		I	lȋpo	gorọ́	stəzȍ, -ọ́	cệrkvijo
	PLURAL	N	lípe	gorệ (góre)	stəzȅ, -ệ	cẹ́rkve
		A	lípe	gorệ (góre)	stəzȅ, -ệ	cẹ́rkve
		G	lȋp	gọ́r, gorá	stə̏z, stəzá	cệrkəv, cerkvá
		L	lípah	gorȁh	stəzȁh	cẹ́rkvah
		D	lípam	gorȁm	stəzȁm	cẹ́rkvam
		I	lípami	gorâmi	stəzȃmi	cẹ́rkvami
	DUAL	N-A	lípi	góri	stəzȉ, -ệ	cẹ́rkvi
		D-I	lípama	gorâma	stəzâma	cẹ́rkvama

Figure 30. SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION - CLASS II

(5) Numerous polysyllabic masculine substantives with the non-mobile accent on the stem (*rȁk* type) have before all vocalic desinences a mandatory accent alternation within stems of the type: nom.-acc. sg. *jêzik* : gen. sg. *jezíka*, *člôvek* : *človéka*, *prȇmog* : *premóga*. This intra-stem alternation is non-productive. The most frequent stems of this category are *bôžič*, *cêsar*, *člôvek*, *jêlen*, *Jêrnej*, *jêzik*, *kôstanj*, *kôžuh*, *mêdved*, *ôreh*, *ôtok*, *pêhar*, *pêlin*, *petêlin*, *plȃmen*, *pôrok*, *prêdlog*, *prêmog*, *prôstor*, *rázred*, *sôsed* (and *sósed*), *šôtor*, *zȃkon*, *závod*.

The /*e*/ and /*o*/ under the shifted accent are closed /*ẹ*/ and /*ọ*/; e.g., *člôvek* : *človéka*, *jêlen* : *jeléna*, *závod* : *zavóda*, *prôstor* : *prostóra*. With the open /*e*/ and /*o*/ occur *názor* : *nazôra*, *prêstol* : *prestôla*, *sôkol* : *sokôla*, *tôpol* : *topôla*, and *zástor* : *zastôra*.

(6) A similar intra-stem alternation, again mandatory and non-productive, occurs in neuter gender substantives which add the suffix *-en-* (except *imé* and *víme*) and in two substantives with the suffix *-et-*: *têle* and *plêče*. The /*e*/ of the suffixes *-en-* and *-et-* under the shifted accent is closed /*ẹ*/; e.g., nom.-acc. sg. *plême* : gen. sg. *pleména*, *têle* : *teléta*.

(7) Some 15 masculine gender substantives of Class I with an /*ọ*/ in the stem have an optional /*ọ*/ ∿ /*o*/ alternation in the loc. sg. form; e.g., nom. sg. *dóm* : loc. sg. *dómu* and *dȏmu*, *nós* : *nósu* and *nôsu*. The most important substantives in this group are *bród*, *dól*, *dóm*, *drób*, *gnój*, *lój*, *móst*, *nós*, *plót*, *pród*, *ród*, *róg*, *vóz*.

(8) Some 25 masculine gender substantives with an /*o*/ or /*e*/ in the stem have optional /*o*/ ∿ /*ọ*/ and /*e*/ ∿ /*ẹ*/ alternations in the loc. sg.; e.g., *kònj* : loc. sg. *kônju* and *kónju*, *žèp* : *žêpu* and *žépu*. The most frequent substantives of this group are *bòj*, *dvòr*, *gòzd*, *gròb*, *kòl*, *kònj*, *kòš*, *otròk*, *pòd*, *pòst*, *ròj*, *snòp*, *stòl*, *stròj*, *stròp*, *čèp*, *žèp*.

SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION — CLASS II   To the substantive declension Class II belong the feminine and masculine gender substantives with their genitive singular desinence in *-e*. Their basic form ends in *-a*, but -# for feminine substantives whose stems end in *-əv*.

The substantives of Class II are represented by four paradigms. The *lípa* type typifies one of the two productive patterns of the feminine gender substantives, the type with a non-movable accent on the stem.

The *gôra* paradigm represents the mobile accent pattern of Class II. It is non-productive, a closed class, and includes the following substantives: *gôra, zêmlja, vôda, rôsa, žêna, sêstra, têta, nôga, rôka, pêta, kôpa, kôsa, kôza, prôšnja, môšnja, mêtla, ôsa, smôla, tôžba, vêža, vôjska, trȃva, brȃda, glȃva, césta, vȓsta, ȏvca, sőlza, bőlha.* All the CSS substantives of this type have an optional paradigm with the non-mobile accent on the stem. E.g., sg. *gôra, gôro, gôre, gôri, gôro.*

The *stəzȁ* paradigm represents the non-mobile accent on the desinence; it is non-productive and includes the following substantives: *stəzȁ, dəskȁ, məglȁ, bəčvȁ, məzdȁ, nəčkȅ* (pl.), *pəčkȁ, təmȁ, rjȁ, gubȁ, trskȁ.* All the CSS substantives of this type have an optional paradigm with the non-mobile accent on the stem. E.g., sg. *stə̀za, stə̀zo, stə̀ze, stə̀zi, stə̀zo.* The relocated accent on *ŕja, gúba, tŕska* is the acute /ˊ/.

The *cérkəv* type represents the second productive class of feminine substantives; it is formally marked by -*əv* with -*#* desinence in the nom.(-acc.) sg. form; in all other forms it is declined according to the Class II Declension. E.g., *britəv, molitəv, vrnitəv, žalitəv, spregatəv, terjatəv, bogatitəv, podražitəv, osvoboditəv.* To this type formally belong also the substantives *mati* and *hči.*

Desinences The basic forms of the desinences of the substantive declension Class II are:

N	A	G
-a/-#	-o/-#	-e
-o/ -(i)jo	-i	
I	D	L

N	A	G
-e		-#/-a
-ami	-am	-ah
I	D	L

N-A
-i
-ama
I-D

(1) Accusative singular. The substantives in *-əv* and *mati* and *hči* have the desinence *-#* in the acc. sg. E.g., nom. sg. *cérkəv* : acc. sg. *cérkəv*, *mati* : *mater*, *hči* : *hčér*.

(2) Instrumental singular. The substantives in *-əv* have in the instr. sg. the desinence *-ijo*; e.g., *cerkvijo*; the substantives *mati* and *hči* have the desinence *-jo*, e.g., *materjo*, *hčerjo*.

(3) Genitive plural. The basic desinence of Class II substantives in gen. pl. is *-#*. The following two-syllabic basic forms may have an optional desinence *-á* (e.g., nom. sg. *gôra* : gen. pl. *gôr* ∿ *gorá*) : *gôra*, *sêstra*, *zêmlja*, *vôda*, *pêta*, *ôvca*, *mêja*, *sólza*, *kôza*, *žêlja*, *ôsa*, *dežêla*, *vôjska*, *cérkəv* (: *cerkvâ*).

One substantive of Class II has its gen. pl. desinence in *-i*; e.g., *besêda* : *besedí*.

(4) One substantive of Class II, *gospá*, deviates from the basic declensional pattern. Thus, it has

gospá	*gospó*	*gospé*	*gospé*	*gospé*	*gospá*	*gospé*
gospó	*gospé*	*gospé*	*gospémi*	*gospém*	*gospéh*	*gospéma*

(5) All masculine gender substantives of the Class II declension (e.g., *sluga*, *oproda*, *vojvoda*, *delovodja*), have optional forms of the Class I type. E.g., nom. acc. gen. sg. *sluga*, loc. dat. sg. *slugu*, instr. *slugom*.

Stem Differentiation. There are two types of stem modifications in Class II substantives: (a) addition of the suffixes *-er-* and *-j-* to the basic stem, and (b) the vowel ∿ zero alternations in the stem.

(1) The suffix *-er-*. The suffix *-er-* occurs with two feminine gender stems of Class II, *mati* and *hči*, in all their non-nom. sg. case forms. E.g., nom. sg. *mati* : gen. sg. *matere*, *hči* : *hčere*.

(2) The suffix *-j-*. Borrowed substantives which are declined according to the Class II pattern and have their stem ending in a vowel receive the suffix *-j-* in their genitive plural forms. E.g., nom. sg. *alinea*, gen. sg. *alinee* : gen. pl. *alinej*; *oboa*, *oboe* : *oboj*; *aloa*, *aloe* : *aloj*.

(3) The substantives of Class II have two types of *vowel ∿ zero alternations* before the -# desinence in the gen. pl.: a # ∿ /ə/ alternation in stems ending in a consonant + sonorant or sonorant + sonorant cluster (except where the final sonorant is *j*); e.g., nom. sg. *tekma* : gen. pl. *tekəm*, *iskra* : *iskər*, *sestra* : *sestər*, *dekla* : *dekəl*; and a # ∿ *i* alternation in stems ending in consonant + sonorant or sonorant + sonorant clusters whose final sonorant is *j*; e.g., nom. sg. *ladja* : gen. pl. *ladij*, *delovodja* : *delovodij*, *zarja* : *zarij*. Notice, however, the cluster in which the final sonorant *j* is part of *lj* and *nj* groups: *zêmlja* : *zêməlj*, *žémlja* : *žéməlj*, *prôšnja* : *prôšənj*, *vôžnja* : *vôžənj*.

Five feminine gender substantives of Class II: *ôvca*, *dəskà*, *trskà*, *pəčkà*, *nəčkè* (pl.), have a non-mandatory and non-productive # ∿ *ấ* alternation before the gen. pl. -# desinence; e.g., *ôvca* : *ovấc* and *óvc*, *dəskà* : *dəsấk* and *də̀sk*.

Accent and Vowel Alternations. (1) The mobility in the feminine substantives of Class II (mobile accent type *gôra*) consists in a shift of accent from the stem to the desinence in the acc., gen., and instr. sg., and in all forms of the plural and dual paradigms. In the loc.-dat. pl. the shifted accent is always short. E.g., nom. sg. *gôra* : acc. sg. *goró*, nom. pl. *goré*, loc. pl. *goràh*, dat. pl. *goràm*.

The /*e*/ and /*o*/ under the shifted accent are closed /*ẹ*/ and /*ọ*/.

In the optional accentual pattern of those substantives which have the non-mobile accent on the stem, the /*e*/ and /*o*/ under accent are always open /*e*/ and /*o*/. E.g., nom. sg. *gôra*, acc. sg. *gôro*, nom. pl. *gôre*, loc. pl. *gôrah*, dat. pl. *gôram*.

(2) A few substantives of the mobile accent type *gôra* (e.g., *rôka*, *nôga*, *kôza*, *pêta*) may have an optional /*ẹ*/ ∿ /*e*/, /*ọ*/ ∿ /*o*/ alternation before the -# desinence of the gen. pl.; e.g., nom. sg. *rôka* : gen. pl. *rốk* and *rôk*; *pêta* : *pết* and *pêt*.

(3) In the oxytonic type of Class II substantives the accent is always on the desinence, and in the gen. pl. on the last accentable segment. E.g., nom. sg. *stəzà* : gen. pl. *stə̀z* and *stəzấ*. This account is automatically long when not final (e.g., instr. pl. *stəzấmi*, and instr.

CSS NORM SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	mìš	mísel	stvár	debèr
		A	mìš	mísel	stvár	debèr
		G	míši	mísli	stvarí	debrì
		L	míši	mísli	stvári	debrì
		D	míši	mísli	stvári	debrì
		I	míšjo	míslijo	stvarjó	debrijò, -ó
	PLURAL	N	míši	mísli	stvarí	debrì
		A	míši	mísli	stvarí	debrì
		G	míši	mísli	stvarí	debrí
		L	míših	míslih	stvaréh	debrìh
		D	míšim	míslim	stvarém	debrìm
		I	míšmi	míslimi	stvarmí	debrimì
	DUAL	N-A	míši	mísli	stvarí	debrì
		D-I	míšma	míslima	stvaréma	debrimà
PHONEMIC TONE SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	mìš	mîsel	stvâr	debȅr
		A	mìš	mîsel	stvâr	debèr
		G	míši	mîsli	stvarî	debrȉ
		L	míši	mîsli	stvári	debrì
		D	míši	mîsli	stvári	debrì
		I	mîšjo	mîslijo	stvarjọ́	debrijò, -ijọ́
	PLURAL	N	míši	mîsli	stvarî	debrì
		A	míši	mîsli	stvarî	debrȉ
		G	mîši	mîsli	stvarí	debrí
		L	mîših	mîslih	stvarẹ́h	debrìh
		D	mîšim	mîslim	stvarệm	debrìm
		I	mîšmi	mîslimi	stvarmí	debrimì
	DUAL	N-A	míši	mîsli	stvarî, -í	debrì
		D-I	mîšma	mîslima	stvarệma,-ẹ́ma	debrimà

Figure 31. SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION - CLASS III

dual *stəzáma*), and mandatorily short in the loc. and dat. sg. and pl. (e.g., loc.-dat. sg. *stəzì*, dat. pl. *stəzàm*, loc. pl. *stəzàh*); elsewhere both quantities, long and short, may be used.

SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSION — CLASS III. To the substantive declension Class III belong the feminine gender substantives in -# whose genitive singular desinence is -*i*.

There are four accentual patterns in this class. The paradigms *mìš* and *mîsəl* represent the non-mobile accent on the stem, the paradigm *dəbə̀r* the non-mobile accent on the desinence, and the paradigm *stvár* the mobile type of accentuation. The non-mobile type on the stem of this class is open and productive; the two other types are closed. The substantive *dəbə̀r* is the only example of the non-mobile accent on the desinence.

The paradigm *mìš* and *mísəl* differ in their stem structure; the stem of the latter ends in a consonant + sonorant cluster which determines an automatic # ∿ ə alternation in their nom.(-acc.) sg. form before a -# desinence.

Examples of the *mìš* type substantives are monosyllabic *nìt*, *smŕt*, *bốl*, *slúz*, *bît*, *čúd*, *škŕl*; *pŕsi*, *grúdi* (only plural); polysyllabic *pámet*, *pomlád*, *perút*, *hitróst*, *mladóst*, *modróst*, *žálost*, *lákomnost*, *ljubeznjîvost*, *kakóvost*, *kolikóst*.

Examples of the *mîsel* type substantives are *bojázən*, *bolézən*, *ljubézən*, *pésəm*, *povódənj*, *prikázən*.

The most frequent substantives represented by the paradigm *stvar*, are *část*, *dlán*, *gáz*, *gnját*, *jéd*, *klét*, *klóp*, *krî* (gen. *krvî*), *láž*, *lást*, *mást*, *očî* (pl.), *pást*, *péd*, *plást*, *plát*, *pót*, *pŕst*, *rást*, *raván* (gen. *ravnî*), *réč*, *skŕb*, *slást*, *smér*, *strán*, *strást*, *úš*, *vás*, *vést*, *véz*, *vŕv*, *zmés*, *zvér*, *žŕd*; *gós*, *kóst*, *móč* (*pomóč*, *premóč*), *nóč*, *ós*, *óst*, *péč*, *pést*, *snóv*, and *sól*.

Desinences. The basic forms of the desinences of the substantive declension Class III are:

<table>
<tr><td>N</td><td>A</td><td>G</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">-#</td><td rowspan="2">-i</td></tr>
<tr><td>-jo/
-ijo</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>D</td><td>L</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>N</td><td>A</td><td>G</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">-i</td></tr>
<tr><td>-mi/
-imi</td><td>-im/
-ẹ́m</td><td>-ih/
-ẹ́h</td></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>D</td><td>L</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>N-A</td></tr>
<tr><td>-i</td></tr>
<tr><td>-ma/
-ima/
-ẹ́ma</td></tr>
<tr><td>I-D</td></tr>
</table>

(1) Instrumental singular, plural and dual. The basic desinences in the instrumental sg., pl., and dual are *-jo*, *-mi*, *-ma*. The stems ending in a consonant + sonorant cluster have in these three cases *-ijo*, *-imi*, *-ima* instead. E.g., nom. sg. *mȉš* : instr. sg. *míšjo* : instr. pl. *míšmi* : instr. dual *míšma* vs. *mísəl* : *míslijo* : *míslimi* : *míslima*, and *dəbə̏r* : *dəbrijȍ* : *dəbrimȉ* : *dəbrimȁ*.

(2) Dative plural. The stems with the mobile accent (*stvar* type) have in dat. pl. *-ém* under stress instead of *-im*. E.g., nom. sg. *stvar* : dat. pl. *stvarêm*, *kost* : *kostêm*.

(3) Locative plural. The stems with the mobile accent (*stvar* type) have in the loc. pl. *-êh* under accent instead of *-ih*. E.g., nom. sg. *stvar* : loc. pl. *stvarêh*, *kost* : *kostêh*.

(4) Dative-instrumental dual. The stems with the mobile accent (*stvar* type) have in the dat.-instr. dual the desinence *-êma* under accent instead of *-ima*. E.g., nom. sg. *stvar* : dat.-instr. dual *stvarêma*, *kost* : *kostêma*.

Stem Differentiation. Two types of stem differentiation occur in Class III substantives: addition of the suffix *-v-*, and the vowel ∿ zero alternations.

(1) The feminine substantive *krí* appears with the suffix *-v-* in all non-nom.(-acc.) forms and is declined as follows: sg. nom.-acc. *krí*, gen.-loc.-dat. *krví*, instr. *krvjô*.

(2) The substantives of Class III have a *vowel ∿ zero alternation* before the -# desinence in nom.-acc. sg.; the stems with a consonant + sonorant and a consonant + *nj* cluster have a /ə/ ∿ # alternation; e.g.,

nom. sg. *mîsəl* : gen. sg. *mîsli*, *pésəm* : *pésmi*, *bolézən* : *bolézni*, *povódənj* : *povódnji*.

Accent and Vowel Alternations. The following accent and vowel alternations take place within the frame of three basic morphological and accentual types of Class III substantives.

(1) Mobility in the feminine gender substantives of Class III (*stvar* type mobile accent) consists in a shift of accent from the stem to the desinence in the genitive and instrumental singular, and in all forms of the plural and dual paradigms.

(2) A limited number of mobile accent stems of the *stvar* type have in their dat. loc. sg. forms a mandatory *tense* ∿ *lax*, /ẹ/ ∿ /e/ and /ọ/ ∿ /o/ alternation of the vowel under accent (e.g., nom. sg. *réč* : dat. loc. *rêči*, *kóst* : *kôsti*). Here belong *gós*, *kóst*, *móč* (with its prefixed compounds: *pomóč*, *premóč*), *nóč*, *ós*, *óst*, *péč*, *pést*, *snóv*, and *sól*.

(3) In the basic paradigm of the only example of the oxytonic pattern in Class III, *dəbə̀r*, the accent is consistently on the last vocalic segment of the form and is always short. The instr. sg. form has an optional variant with a long accent; e.g., *dəbrijò* and *dəbrijó*. This substantive has, however, an optional paradigm with the non-mobile accent in the stem. E.g., *débər*, *débri*, *débrijo*.

(4) A few polysyllabic stems of Class III (e.g., *senôžet*, *kôpel*, *zîbel*) have a mandatory accent alternation within the stem, between the nom. acc. sg. form and the remaining forms of the paradigm. E.g., nom. acc. sg. *senôžet* : gen. sg. *senožéti*. The /e/ under the shifted accent is closed /ẹ/.

ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONS

Contemporary Standard Slovene has four types of adjective inflections: the inflection for gender and number, for definiteness/indefiniteness, the declension and gradation. The adjective declension proper is shared by all declinable adjectives, participles, and adjectival pronouns.

GENDER AND NUMBER. The inflection for gender and number is in adjectives formally expressed in the nominative case of all three genders:

	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
Singular	*bogat-#*	*bogat-o*	*bogat-a*
Plural	*bogat-i*	*bogat-a*	*bogat-e*
Dual	*bogat-a*	*bogat-i*	*bogat-i*

DEFINITE/INDEFINITE FORMS. A masculine gender adjective may express the opposition definite/indefinite. The definite form of a masculine gender nom.(-acc.) sg. adjective has the suffix *-i*. E.g., *bogati/bogat*, *dobri/dobər*.

A number of adjectives do not have definite forms. Such are all adjectives whose basic forms are in *-ov*, *-ev*, *-in* (e.g., *bratov*, *možev*, *materin*) and the adjectives *majhən* and *rad*. The definite form of the adjective *majhən* is *mali*.

There is a group of adjectives which end in *-ski*, *-ški*, *-ji*, *-ši*, as well as the adjectives *mali*, *obči*, *pravi*, *rajni*, *sleherni*, which are never used without the suffix *-i*.

Two adjectives have their definite/indefinite opposition expressed also prosodically; e.g., indef. *rôjen* : def. *rojêni*, *dêbel* : *debéli*; and one with a lax : tense alternation of the accented vowel; e.g., indef. *vêlik* : def. *véliki*.

Two adjectives, *vêlik* and *májhən*, have the opposition definite/indefinite formally expressed for all three genders in singular; e.g., indef. *vêlik*, *velíko*, *velíka* : def. *véliki*, *véliko*, *vélika*; indef. *májhən*, *májhno*, *májhna* : def. *mâli*, *mâlo*, *mâla*.

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES. In CSS all non-borrowed adjectives (the exceptions are *rad*, *təšč*, *žal*), are declined. As in substantives, the traditional structural declensional types are three: the type with a baritonic, the type with an oxytonic, and the type with a mobile accent.

In our table the paradigm *bogàt* illustrates the declension of adjectives with the non-mobile accent on the stem which is the only productive type of adjectives in Slovene.

CSS NORM SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	bogàt	bogáto	bogáta	mlád	mladó	mláda	təmə̀n	təmnó	təmnà
		A	N/G	bogáto	bogáto	N-G	mladó	mladó	N/G	təmnó	təmnó
		G	bogátega		bogáte	mládega		mláde	təmnegà		təmné
		L	bogátem		bogáti	mládem		mládi	təmnèm		təmnì
		D	bogátemu		bogáti	mládemu		mládi	təmnemù		təmnì
		I	bogátim		bogáto	mládim		mladó	təmnìm		təmnó
	PLURAL	N	bogáti	bogáta	bogáte	mladí	mladá	mladé	təmnì	təmnà	təmné
		A	bogáte	bogáta	bogáte	mladé	mladá	mladé	təmnè	təmnà	təmné
		G		bogátih			mládih			təmnìh	
		L		bogátih			mládih			təmnìh	
		D		bogátim			mládim			təmnìm	
		I		bogátimi			mládimi			təmnimì	
	DUAL	N-A	bogáta	bogáti	bogáti	mladá	mladé	mladé	təmnà	təmnì	təmnì
		D-I		bogátima			mládima			təmnimà	
PHONEMIC TONE SYSTEM	SINGULAR	N	bogȁt	bogáto	bogáta	mlâd	mladǫ̂	mláda	təmə̏n	təmnǫ̂	təmnȁ
		A	N/G	bogáto	bogáta	N/G	mladǫ̂	mladǫ̂	N/G	təmnǫ̂	təmnǫ̂
		G	bogátega		bogáte	mládega		mláde	təmnegȁ		təmnę́
		L	bogátem		bogáti	mládem		mládi	təmnȅm		təmnȉ
		D	bogátemu		bogáti	mládemu		mládi	təmnemȕ		təmnȉ
		I	bogátim		bogáto	mládim		mladǫ̂	təmnȉm		təmnǫ̂
	PLURAL	N	bogáti	bogáta	bogáte	mladî	mladâ	mladę̂	təmnȉ	təmnȁ	təmnę̂
		A	bogáte	bogáta	bogáte	mladę̂	mladâ	mladę̂	təmnȅ	təmnȁ	təmnę̂
		G		bogátih			mládih			təmnȉh	
		L		bogátih			mládih			təmnȉh	
		D		bogátim			mládim			təmnȉm	
		I		bogátimi			mládimi			təmnimȉ	
	DUAL	N-A	bogáta	bogáti	bogáti	mladâ	mladę̂	mladę̂	təmnȁ	təmnȉ	təmnȉ
		D-I		bogátima			mládima			təmnimȁ	

Figure 32. ADJECTIVE DECLENSION

The paradigm *təmə̀n* represents a type of adjectives with the non-mobile accent on the desinence. Only a small group of adjectives is historically part of this pattern, viz. *mədə̀l*, def. *mədlȉ* and *mə̀dli*; *təmə̀n*, def. *təmnȉ*; *tənə̀k*, def. *tánki*; *ləhə̀k*, def. *lấhki*; a few others with the suffixes -*ək* and -*ən*, have similar structure and follow the same pattern; e.g., *strašə̀n* and *strašấn*, def. *strấšni*; *drobə̀n* and *drobấn*, def. *drôbni*; *težə̀k* and *težấk*, def. *têžki*; *krotə̀k* and *krotấk*, def. *krôtki*; *krepə̀k* and *krepấk*, def. *krêpki*; *gorə̀k* and *gorấk*, def. *gorki*; *sladə̀k* and *sladấk*, def. *slấdki*. All adjectives of this type appear with optional structures, e.g., in nom. sg.:

tənə̀k	*tənkò* and *tənkó*	*tənkà*	
tənák	*tənkò* and *tənkó*	*tənkà*	
tanȅk	*tankȍ* and *tankó*	*tankȁ*	
tánək	*tanko*	*tánka*,	def. *tánki*

The paradigm *mlad* typifies the pattern of adjectives with a mobile accent. Non-productive as it is, the type *mlad* is relatively strongly represented in contemporary standard usage. The most frequent adjectives of this model are: *bếl*, *čî́st*, *dốlg*, *drấg*, *glû́h*, *gŕd*, *hû́d*, *cếl*, *gnî́l*, *krî́v*, *lến*, *lếp*, *ljû́b*, *nấg*, *plấh*, *pû́st*, *skốp*, *slấn*, *slếp*, *stŕm*, *sû́h*, *tŕd*, *zlất*, *zvếst*, *žî́v*; *gȍl*, *nȍv*, *prȍst*, *slȁb*, *stȁr*, *rȁd*. The adjectives with the suffixes -*ək* and -*ən* (see above) may also have the same structure. All the adjectives of this type appear with optional structures; e.g., in CSS norm:

mlấd	*mladó*	*mlấda*	
mlấd	*mlấdo*	*mlấda*,	def. *mlấdi*
təžấk	*təžkó*	*têžka*	
têžək	*têžko*	*têžka*,	def. *têžki*

As in substantives, the only productive declensional pattern of CSS adjectives is the one with the non-mobile accent on the stem. The non-productive types which admit a great deal of variation and doublets are exposed to analogical levellings and to their ultimate incorporation in the productive type pattern.

Desinences. The basic forms of the desinences of the adjective declension are:

	M	N	F	M	N	F	M	N	F	
N	-#	-o	-a	-i	-a	-e	-a	-i		N
A			-o	-e						A
G	-ega		-e	-ih						G
L	-em		-i							L
D	-emu			-im			-ima			D
I	-im		-o	-imi						I

(1) Nominative-accusative singular. The basic desinence of the nom.-acc. sg. neuter gender adjectives is *-o*; after morphophonemically soft consonants *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*, this form has the grave ∿ acute vowel alternation *o* ∿ *e*; e.g., nom.-acc. sg. neut. *bogato* : *domače*, *tuje*, *vroče*, *rdeče*.

(2) Nominative-accusative dual. The basic desinence in the nom.-acc. dual fem. and neut. gender adjectives is *-i*. In the pattern of the adjectives with a mobile accent (*mlad* type), this desinence is *-ê*. E.g., nom.-acc. dual *mladê* vs. *mlâdi*.

In the pattern of adjectives with a non-mobile accent on the desinence (*təmə̀n* type), the desinence *-ê* is an alternant desinence to *-i*; e.g., nom.-acc. dual *təmnȋ* and *təmnê*.

Stem Differentiation. Numerous adjectival stems ending in consonant + consonant, consonant + sonorant, and sonorant + sonorant clusters, have in their only form with the gender-number suffix -# (nom. sg. masc. indef. form), an automatic /ə/ ∿ # *alternation*. Regularly such an alternation occurs before the adjectival suffixes *-k-* or *-n-*; e.g., *težək* : *težka*, *mehək* : *mehka*, *təmən* : *təmna*, *ravən* : *ravna*. There is no alternation if the suffix *-n-* is preceded by an *-əl-* sequence, however; e.g., *misəln* : *misəlna*, *smisəln* : *smisəlna*, *ogəln* : *ogəlna*.

The /ə/ ∿ # alternation is productive; it occurs regularly in adjectives derived from borrowed stems; e.g., *apriorən* : *apriorna* : *apriornega*; *pontifikalən* : *pontifikalnega*; *progresivən* : *progresivna*; *arbitrarən* : *arbitrarna*.

A parallel *V* ∿ # type modification in the CSS adjectives of this structure follows the /*a*/ ∿ # alternation pattern. This pattern is found in forms where /ə/ occurs under a long accent, e.g., *težák* ∿ *téžək*, *mehák* ∿ *mêhək*, *təmán* ∿ *təmə̀n*. Thus, as we have seen, for a number of adjectives two, even three alternants coexist; e.g., *dólžən*, *dolžə̀n* and *dolžán*; *drôbən*, *drobə̀n* and *drobán*; *gnôjən*, *gnojə̀n* and *gnoján*; *gôrək*, *gorə̀k* and *gorák*; *grênek*, *grenə̀k* and *grenák*; *hládən*, *hladə̀n* and *hladán*; *krêpək*, *krepə̀k* and *krepák*; *krôtək*, *krotə̀k* and *kroták*; *láhək*, *lahə̀k* and *lahák*; *méhək*, *mehə̀k* and *mehák*; *môčən*, *močə̀n* and *močán*; *sládək*, *sladə̀k* and *sladák*; *sólzən*, *solzə̀n* and *solzán*; *strášən*, *strašə̀n* and *strašán*, *šíbək*, *šibə̀k* and *šibák*, *tə́mən*, *təmə̀n* and *təmə́n*, *žéljən*, *željə̀n* and *želján*. The /*a*/ ∿ # alternants in these parallel forms are less frequently used, however. In one adjective, e.g., *bolán* : *bólna*, the /*a*/ ∿ # alternant is its only form.

Accent and Vowel Alternations. (1) The mobility in the CSS adjective declension (*mlad* type) consists in a shift of accent from the stem to the desinence in the nom.-acc. sg. neuter form (e.g., *mladó*), in the acc. and instr. sg. fem. forms (e.g., *mladó*); in the nom. and acc. pl. masc. forms (e.g., *mladí*, *mladé*), in the nom.-acc. pl. neuter form (e.g., *mladá*), in the nom. and acc. pl. fem. forms (e.g., *mladê*); in the nom.-acc. dual masc., neut., and fem. forms (e.g., *mladá*, *mladé*, *mladê*).

The levelling process on the model of the non-mobile accent type *bogàt*, created in the innovative norm of CSS accentual variants in strong competition with the original system, viz.:

	SINGULAR		PLURAL		DUAL
	N-A	A/I	N	A	N-A
MASC.			mládi	mláde	mláda
NEUT.	mládo		mláda		mládi
FEM.		mládo	mláde	mláde	mládi

(2) In the oxytonic type of the adjective declension (*təmə̀n* type), the accent is on the desinence; except for the nom.-acc. sg. neuter form (*təmnó*), the acc., gen., instr. sg. feminine forms (*təmnó*, *təmné*, *təmnó*), the nom., acc. pl. feminine form (*təmné*), the oxytonal accent is always short.

On the other hand, the oxytonal type of the adjective declension has been in CSS almost systematically replaced by the non-mobile stem stress type accent; e.g., in singular nom. *tə̀mən*, *tə̀mno*, *tə̀mna*; gen. *tə̀mnega*, *tə̀mne*; loc. *tə̀mnem*, *tə̀mni*; dat. *tə̀mnemu*, *tə̀mni*; instr. *tə̀mnim*, *tə̀mno*.

(3) Four adjectives, *vêlik*, *dêbel*, *rôjen*, *ponôrel*, have in their paradigm a mandatory alternation within the stem, opposing the nom. sg. to all other forms of the paradigm; e.g., *vêlik* : fem. sg. *velíka*, gen. sg. masc. neut. *velíkega*.

(4) Three adjectives, *dóbər*, *mókər*, *védər*, have a mandatory tense ∿ lax alternation between their basic forms and all other forms of the paradigm; e.g., nom. sg. masc. indef. *dóbər* : fem. *dôbra*, gen. sg. masc. neut. *dôbrega*, masc. sg. def. *dôbri*; *mókər*, *môkra*, *môkrega*, *môkri*; *védər*, *vêdra*, *vêdrega*, *vêdri*.

(5) A few polysyllabic adjectives of the non-mobile accent type with an /*e*/ or /*o*/ in the stem (*bogàt* type), have an optional basic form and an accent alternation within the stem in all other forms of the paradigm. E.g., *bôgat* : fem. sg. *bogáta*, gen. sg. masc. neut. *bogátega*. The vowel under accent is always lax.

GRADATION OF ADJECTIVES. There are three degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs in Slovene: the *positive* (the non-compared form), the *comparative*, and the *superlative*. The comparative and superlative of an adjective may be expressed by a simple inflected form which itself participates in the adjectival gender, number and case inflections (e.g., masc. sg. *lep* : *lepši* : *najlepši*; fem. sg. *lepa* : *lepša* : *najlepša*), or by a compound formation in which the adverbs *bolj* or *manj* (superlative *najbolj* or *najmanj*) are combined with any of the inflected forms of an adjective (e.g., nom. masc. sg. *bel* : *manj bel* : *najmanj bel*; gen. sg. *belega* : *manj belega* : *najmanj belega*). The masc. sg. form of a comparative and superlative always ends in -*i*.

1. *The Simple Gradation: Comparative*

The formation of simple comparatives, an essentially nonproductive process of the Slovene adjective, is based on the basic form of an adjective, its positive. The inflectional desinence is compounded and consists of a sequence of one of the comparative suffixes -*š*-, -*j*-, -*éjš*-, and the adjectival gender and number suffixes. E.g., *lep* : comp. masc. sg. *lep* + *š-i*, neut. sg. *lepše*, fem. sg. *lepša*; *drag* : *draž* + *j-i*, *dražje*, *dražja*; *bogat* : *bogat* + *éjš-i*, *bogatejše*, *bogatejša*.

(1) The comparative suffix *-š-* occurs with monosyllabic adjectival stems ending in *-b*, *-p*, *-d*, and with some stems appearing with the suffixes *-ək-*, *-ak-*, *-ok-* in their basic forms. In the latter case the suffix *-š-* is added immediately to the stem. E.g., *slab* : *slabši*, *lep* : *lepši*, *ljub* : *ljubši*, *širok* : *širši*. The suffix *-š-* appears with: *dolg*, *grd*, *hud*, *lep*, *ljub*, *mlad*, *rad*, *slab*, *trd*; *gladək*, *kratək*, *majhən*, *sladək*, *tanək*, *širok*.

The final consonant of the basic stem may before the suffix *-š-* undergo the substitutive softening alternation type I; e.g., *hud* : *hujši*, *mlad* : *mlajši*, *rad* : *rajši*, *gladək* : *glajši*, *sladək* : *slajši*, *tanək* : *tanjši*. A number of adjectives drop the final stem consonant before the *-š-* suffix; e.g., *grd* : *grši*, *trd* : *trši*. The comparative forms of some adjectives deviate, e.g., *dolg* : *daljši*, *kratək* : *krajši*, *majhən* : *manjši*, *dobər* : *boljši*, *zəl* : *gorši*.

(2) The suffix *-j-* occurs with monosyllabic stems ending in *-g*, *-k*, *-h*, and with some stems which appear with the suffixes *-ək-*, *-ak-*, *-ok-* in their basic forms. In the latter case the suffix *-j-* is added immediately to the stem. The final consonant of the basic stem undergoes the substitutive softening alterantion type I before the suffix *-j-*; e.g., *blag* : *blažji*, *drag* : *dražji*, *jak* : *jačji*, *globok* : *globlji*, *širok* : *širji*, *težək* : *težji*. The suffix *-j-* appears with the following adjectives: *blag*, *drag*, *gluh*, *jak*, *plah*, *tih*; *globok*, *kratək*, *nizək*, *ozək*, *širok*, *težək*, *visok*; *daljən*, *lahək*, *mehək*, *velik*, *zəl*.

The comparative forms of some adjectives deviate, e.g., *daljən* : *daljnji*, *lahək* : *lažji*, *mehək* : *mečji*, *velik* : *večji*, *zəl* : *gorji*.

The adjectives *mêhək*, *têžək*, *vêlik* have in their comparative paradigms a lax ∿ tense vowel alternation; e.g., *mếčji*, *tếžji*, *vếčji*.

(3) The suffix *-ếjš-* which is under a long accent, occurs with all other adjectives. E.g., *nȍv* : *novéjši*, *bogȁt* : *bogatếjši*, *ljubeznjív* : *ljubeznjȋvejši*. Some of the most frequent adjectives of this pattern are: *nov*, *star*, *čist*, *zvest*, *mil*; *bistər*, *bogat*, *debəl*, *drobən*, *gladək*,

grenək, *globok*, *ljubeznjiv*, *mehək*, *močən*, *pridən*, *sladək*, *skrbən*, *srdit*, *təmən*.

A few adjectival stems may have multiple formations of their comparative paradigms; the most frequent such doublets are: *kratək* : *krajši* and *kračji*, *širok* : *širji* and *širši*, *mehək* : *mečji* and *mehkejši*, *sladək* : *slajši* and *sladkejši*, *globok* : *globlji* and *globočji* and *globokejši*.

Four adjectives have suppletive comparative stems; their paradigms are: *dőbər* : *bőljši*, *dőlg* : *dáljši*, *májhən*/*máli* : *mánjši*, *vêlik* : *véčji*, *hud* and *zəl* : *góršì*

Prosodically, the comparative forms have only one accent alternation: the monosyllabic stems which combine with the suffix *-éjš-*, have regularly a stem ∿ desinence accent shift; e.g., *nov* : *novéjši*, *bîstər* : *bistréjši*, *sládək* : *sladkéjši*. A few polysyllabic stems do not have this shift, however; e.g., *pámetən* : *pámetnejši*, *rodovîtən* : *rodovîtnejši*, *prîdən* : *prîdnejši*.

2. *The Compound Comparative.*

The compound comparative is formed by combining the adverb *bȍlj* or *mànj* with any of the declensional forms of an adjective. E.g., *zdràv* : comp. masc. sg. *bȍlj zdràv*, neut. sg. *bȍlj zdrávo*, fem. sg. *bȍlj zdráva*; *bêl* : *mànj bêl*, *mànj bêlo*, *mànj béla*; *dîvji* : *bȍlj dîvji*; *kosmàt* : *bȍlj kosmàt*; gen. sg. *kosmátega* : *bȍlj kosmátega*.

As a rule, only a few categories of Slovene adjectives have compound gradation. On the other hand, every adjective may be graded with *bolj* and *manj*. The classes of adjectives which have only compound gradation are: (1) the adjectives which are participles by their origin; present participles, e.g., *vroč*, *rdeč*, *cvetoč*, *pekoč*; or past participles, e.g., *vrel*, *gnil*, *propal*; *učen*, *znan*, *strt*, *potrt*; (2) the adjectives which end in *-ji*, *-ski*, *-ški*, e.g., *divji*, *slovenski*, *kovinski*; (3) numerous adjectives ending in *-ast*, *-at*, *-av*; e.g., *grbast*, *lisast*, *kosmat*, *travnat*, *bahav*, *zdrav*; (4) all adjectives denoting colors; e.g., *bel*, *črn*, *rjav*, *plav*, *zelen*; and (5) relative adjectives in *-en*; e.g., *jeklen*, *koščen*, *lesen*.

3. *The Superlative*

To express the superlative degree, the prefix *nàj-* is added to the comparative degree form of an adjective. E.g.,

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
lép	*lépši*	*nȁjlépši*
níz ək	*nížji*	*nȁjnížji*
mlád	*mlájši*	*nȁjmlájši*
dőbər	*bóljši*	*nȁjbóljši*
zdrȁv	*bȍlj zdrȁv*	*nȁjbolj zdrȁv*
dívji	*bȍlj dívji*	*nȁjbolj dívji*

The prefix *nȁj-* carries an emphatic stress, which is always secondary to the stress on the comparative form.

PRONOUN DECLENSION

By form, the inflected pronouns in Slovene are of two basic types: pronominal adjectives, characterized by variable gender and by the adjective declension pattern, and pronominal substantives, marked by a gender structure and a declensional pattern of their own.

The basic forms of the pronominal substantives are: the personal pronouns *jaz*, *ti*, *mi*, *vi*, *midva*, *vidva* (and *on*, *ono*, *ona*), the reflexive *sebe se*, the interrogative pronouns *kdo* and *kaj*, their lexico-semantic variations *nekdo*, *marsikdo*, *vsakdo*, *nekaj*, *marsikaj*, the relative pronouns *kdor* and *kar*, and their negative correlates *nihče* and *nič*.

The general categorial and formal characteristics of pronominal substantives can be summarized as follows:

The personal pronouns *jaz* and *ti* indicate person by their lexical form with which they may refer to any gender; the lexical forms of other pronominal substantives, based on the opposition *kdo* : *kaj*, indicate the animate (masc. and fem.) vs. inanimate (neut.) gender of a referent. All masculine pronominal substantives have the animate/inanimate category, i.e., the identity of accusative case of an animate referent with the genitive, and of accusative of an inanimate referent with the nominative, formally expressed in all three numbers (e.g., *videl je mene*, *naju*, *nas*).

The personal pronouns *jaz* and *ti*, the reflexive *sebe se*, are not marked for gender, while the third person personal pronoun has gender in all three numbers (e.g., sg. *ȏn*, *ȏno*, *ȏna*; pl. *ȏni*, *ȏna*, *ȏne*; dual *ȏnadva*, *ȏnidve*, *ȏnidve*); on the other hand, in Slovene, the forms of the first and second person have gender distinctions formally expressed in dual and plural as well.

As to the number: the personal pronouns *midva*, *vidva* have only dual, *jaz* and *ti* only singular; the reflexive *sebe se* does not have number at all; the forms *kdo*, *kdar* and their variations, have only singular, though they may also refer to plural.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS CSS has two types of personal pronoun forms: accented and non-accented or enclitic forms. Here is their declension pattern:

		FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON			
						MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	
SINGULAR	N	jàz		tí		òn	onó	ôna	
	A	mêne	me	têbe	te	njêga	ga	njó	jo
	G	mêne	me	têbe	te	njêga	ga	njé	je
	L	mêni		têbi		njêm		njéj/nji	
	D	mêni	mi	têbi	ti	njêmu	mu	njéj/njì	ji
	I	menój /máno		tebój /tábo		njím		njó	
PLURAL	N	mí, mé (fem.)		ví, vé (fem.)		ôni	ôna	ône	
	A	nàs		vàs		njé	jih		
	G	nàs		vàs		njìh	jih		
	L	nàs		vàs		njìh			
	D	nàm		vàm		njìm	jim		
	I	námi		vámi		njími			
DUAL	N	mídva, mídve		vídva, vídve		ônadva	ônidve	ônidve	
	A	náju		váju		njú, njíju		ju/jih	
	G	náju		váju		njú, njíju		ju/jih	
	L	náju		váju		njíju			
	D	náma		váma		njíma		jima	
	I	náma		váma		njíma			

Figure 33. PERSONAL PRONOUN DECLENSION

The REFLEXIVE PERSONAL PRONOUN *sebe se* also has the same double forms, accented and enclitic. This pronoun has no nominative case form and is declined as follows: N ---, G *sêbe se*, A *sêbe se*, L *sêbi*, D *sêbi si*, I *sebój/sábo*.

Desinence and Stem Differentiation. 1. The CSS personal pronouns with gender distinction are:

	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
3rd Sg.	*ȍn*	*ȏno* ∿ *onó*	*ȏna*
3rd Pl.	*ȏni* ∿ *oní*	*ȍna* ∿ *oná*	*ȍne* ∿ *oné*
3rd Dual	*ȍnadva* ∿ *onádva*	*ȍnidve* ∿ *onédve*	*ȍnidve* ∿ *onédve*
1st Pl.	*mí*	*mé*	
2nd Pl.	*ví*	*vé*	
1st Dual	*mídva*	*mídve* ∿ *médve*	
2nd Dual	*vídva*	*vídve* ∿ *védve*	

Notice the extension of gender to the 1st and 2nd person plural and dual. Gender distinctions here are limited to the nominative case, however. The use of the neuter-feminine gender alternants, *médve*, *védve*, is rather artificial in the CSS norm.

2. The nominative case of the 3rd person forms of all three numbers has systematic accent alternants (see above). In the CSS usage, the non-initially stressed forms appear to be less frequent.

3. The instrumental singular of the 1st and 2nd persons and of the reflexive pronoun admit a set of alternating free variants: *menój* ∿ *máno*, *tebój* ∿ *tȃbo*, *sebój* ∿ *sȃbo*.

4. The locative dual of the 1st and 2nd persons admits free variant forms: *náma* ∿ *náju*, *váma* ∿ *váju*.

5. The declension of the 3rd person has in a few cases several alternant forms in free variations. These alternations are: in the loc. and dat. sg. fem. gender *njȇj* ∿ *njȋ*; in the acc.-gen. dual *njú* ∿ *njíju* ∿ *njȋh*; in the loc. dual *njíma* ∿ *njíju* ∿ *njȋh*.

6. *Enclitic Forms.* The enclitic forms of personal pronouns are used in sentences where the pronoun in the oblique case is not accented. E.g., *vidim ga*, vs. *njega vidim*, *ne tebe*.

After prepositions *na*, *po*, *za*, *čez*, *skoz*, *med*, *pred*, *nad*, *pod*, and *v*, enclitics combine in a system of bound forms according to the following pattern:

na : *náme*, *nȃte*, *náse*, *nánj*, *nánjo*, *nánje*, *nánju*
pred : *prédme*, *prédte*, *prédse*, *prédənj*, *prédnjo*, *prédnje*, *prédnju*

Note that after a preposition with a CVC structure the *-nj* form of the 3rd sg. masc. neut. is changed to *-ənj* (e.g., *prḗdənj*, *čḗzənj*, *skőzənj*, *nắdənj*, *pődənj*), and that the nonsyllabic proposition *v* in all its combinations with enclitics appears in a *va-* form; e.g., *vắme*, *vắte*, *vắse*, *vắnj*, *vắnjo*, *vắnje*, *vắnju*.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

	INTERROGATIVE		RELATIVE	
N	kdó	káj	kdór	kár
A	kóga	káj	kógar	kár
G	kóga	čésa	kógar	čésar
L	kóm	čém	kómər	čémər
D	kómu	čému	kómur	čémur
I	kóm	čím	kómər	čímər

Figure 34. INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUN

The CSS interrogative and relative pronouns are formally opposed by the presence or absence of the formant *-r-*; formant *-r-* characterizes the relative pronouns.

In addition to *kdar*, *kar*, two other relative pronouns are used in CSS: the indeclinable *ki*, and the pronominal adjective *kateri -a -o*.

The indeclinable *ki* is in all but nominative masculine singular form used in combination with the corresponding case form of a personal pronoun, viz.: *gledam človeka, ki nima roke*; *človek, ki ga vidiš* (acc. sg. masc.); *žena, ki ji govoriš* (acc. sg. fem.); *ljudje, ki jih vidiš* (acc. pl.). On the whole, the corresponding case forms of the pronominal adjective *kateri* may also perform relative function and compete with the indeclinable *ki*; e.g.: *človek, katerega vidiš*; *žena, kateri govoriš*; *ljudje, katere vidiš*.

VERBAL CONJUGATIONAL PATTERN

PRELIMINARIES While two stems of a verb, one based on its infinitive (e.g., *pisa-ti*), the other on its present tense forms (ordinarily on its 3rd sg. form, e.g., *piš-e*), have been traditionally needed to predict its conjugational paradigm,[11] in our description a verb is represented by a single stem, the *basic stem*.

The *basic stem* is usually the longer of the two traditional stems of a verb (e.g., inf. *kupova-ti*, 3 sg. pres. *kupuj-e*, basic stem *kupov-á*) or the one which contains more information for its inflection, either real (e.g., inf. *ses-ti*, 3 sg. pres. *sed-e*, basic stem *sẹd*), or postulated (e.g., inf. *dvigni-ti*, 3 sg. pres. *dvign-e*, basic stem *dvígne*).

Basic stems which end in a vowel are *vocalic* (open), those which end in a consonant are *consonantal* (closed). Vocalic basic stems derive from the infinitive form (by omitting its terminal desinence *-ti*), and consonantal, in most instances, from the present tense form (by omitting the non-terminal vocalic suffix of its 3 sg. form).

Every verbal form consists of a *stem* and a *suffix*. The suffix may be *simple* (e.g., the inf. *-ti*), or it may be complex, made up of a *terminal* (e.g., the person-number suffix in the pres. sg. *-m*, *-š*, *-#*; pl. *-mo*, *-te*, *-jo*; dual *-va*, *-ta*, *-ta*) and a *non-terminal* suffix (e.g., the suffix *-e-* in the pres. tense of the stem *sẹd*, *sed-e-m*). The desinences are *vocalic* if they begin with a vowel (e.g., in 1 sg. pres. *-e-m* in *sed* + *e-m*), or *consonantal* if they begin with a consonant (e.g., inf. *-ti* in *ses* + *ti*); they are *accentable* if not incompatible with the stress, and *non-accentable* if incompatible with the stress (e.g., the ending of the 3 sg. pres. *-i-* of the *i* stems is an accentable desinence, the imper. sg. *-i-* is a non-accentable desinence).

Since the structure of Slovene does not permit -VV- and some -CC- combinations which may appear at the stem-suffix boundary, the basic stem is usually altered by the production of certain forms (e.g., basic stem *sẹd*, inf. *ses* + *ti*; basic stem *dvígne*, 1 sg. pres. *dvign* + *e-m*, inf. *dvigni* + *ti*). Such alterations may sometimes also entail deeper stem changes (e.g., basic stem *kupov-á*, 1 sg. pres. *kupuj* + *e-m*). Such alterations of basic stems are known as *truncations*.

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[11] These two stems traditionally underlie two systems in a paradigm: the present tense stem system, consisting of the present tense, imperative, present participles, and present adverb; and the infinitive stem system, consisting of the infinitive, supine, past participle, passive participle, verbal substantive, and past adverb.

While most CSS consonantal stems undergo trucations (automatic or non-automatic, which may vary with the inflectional category), not all vocalic stems are subjected to this process. There is in CSS one class of *non-truncating* vocalic stems in which a -VV- combination at the stem-suffix boundary induces the drop of the initial vowel of a vocalic suffix (e.g., basic stem *dẹ̑la*, 1 sg. pres. *dela* + *m*). The truncating stems are designated in our notation with a hyphen /-/ inserted between the stem-final vowel and the rest of the basic stem (e.g., basic stem *kupov-ȃ*, 1 sg. pres. *kupȗj* + *e-m*; *rẹ̑z-a* : *rȇž* + *e-m*; *molč-ȃ* : *molč* + *ȋ-m*).

The consonantal stems which are always closed differ in their final sounds. In most cases the final consonant is an obstruent or a *j* (e.g., basic stems *sẹd*, *nes*, *pij*). The consonantal stems ending in one of the sonorants *v*, *r*, *m*, *n*, or clusters *lj* and *rj* are characterized by a series of commutative changes before consonantal desinences (e.g., basic stem *plọ̑v* : inf. *plȗ* + *ti*, *-l-* participle fem. *plȗ* + *l-a*; *vzȃm* : *vzé* + *ti*, *vzé* + *l-a*; *bér* : *brá* + *ti*, *brá* + *l-a*).

Most consonantal stems are monosyllabic; a small number are *non-syllabic* (e.g., basic stem *cvr* : 1 sg. pres. *cvr* + *ə̀-m*; *mr* : *mr* + *ə̀-m*; *pn* : *pn* + *ə̀-m*).

The basic rules for combining stems and desinences and classifying stems are based exclusively on stems, desinences and their relations. Prefixed stems are conjugated in the same way as nonprefixed stems (e.g., *sẹd* : *séd* + *e-m*, *za-sẹd* : *za-séd* + *e-m*; *pis-a* : *pȋš* + *e-m*, *na-pis-a* : *na-pȋš* + *e-m*). Hence in our description generally only nonprefixed stems will be adduced.

INFLECTION OF VERBAL FORMS   Verbal forms of CSS are either *simple* or *compound*. To the simple forms belong two finite paradigms (present and imperative), three non-finite paradigms (past participle, passive participle and complex present participle), and six non-finite forms (verbal substantive, supine, infinitive, past adverb, present adverb, and simple present participle). The compound forms express three tenses in the indicative mood (past, pluperfect, and future), two tenses in the potential mood (present and past conditional), and five paradigms of the passive voice (present, past, future, conditional, and imperative).

VERBAL ENDINGS

		SIMPLE	COMPLEX
CONSONANTAL	1. INFINITIVE	-ti	
	2. SUPINE	-t	
	3. PAST ADVERB	-vši/-ši[1]	
	4. PAST PARTICIPLE		-l- + gender-number endings[2]
	5. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE		-n-/-t-/-en- + gender-number
	6. VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE		-n-/-t-/-en- + je
VOCALIC	7. PRESENT TENSE		-e-/-i-/-#- + person-number suffixes: sg. -m -š -# pl. -mo -te -jo dual -va -ta -ta
	8. IMPERATIVE		-i-/-#- + person-number suffix: sg. -- -# -- pl. -mo -te -- dual -va -ta --
	9. PRESENT ADVERB	-ę/-je	
	10. PRESENT PARTICIPLE	-ǫ́č/-ę́č	

Figure 35. TABLE OF VERBAL ENDINGS

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[1] A slant line indicates suffix alternation in a class of forms.

[2] The gender-number ending stands for the adjective gender-number suffixes (see Figure 32), viz.

	masc.	neut.	fem.
singular	-#	-o	-a
plural	-i	-a	-e
dual	-a	-i	-i

Any inflected form consists of a basic stem and a desinence (verbal ending), two variables normally given in a Slovene grammar.[12] The addition of a desinence to a stem entails segmental and prosodic, automatic or morphophonemic modification of the stem or desinence. The specification of each of these three levels of the inflectional process represents the conjugational pattern of CSS.

1. The inflected forms of the Slovene verb are defined by *verbal endings*. Verbal endings of the simple forms of the CSS conjugation are listed in Figure 35.

2. The classes of the regular *basic stems* of Contemporary Standard Slovene are given in Figure 36.

3. The process of inflection proper, i.e., of the *combination of the basic stems and desinences*, entails the selection of the appropriate form of a desinence, the modification of the stem, and the specification of the prosodic features of a form.

3.1 The selection of an appropriate desinence form, where variant forms exist (in the present tense, present adverb, present participles, and passive participle), is defined according to individual categories.

In the present tense, the non-terminal suffix -*i*- occurs with the Yi, Yé, YČ-a stems, the -*e*- with YC-a, Ye, and YC stems; in the non-truncating YCa stems the non-terminal suffix is -#.

In the present adverb the desinence -*e*- occurs with the Yi, Yé, YČ-a stems, its alternant -*je* with all vocalic stems ending in -*a* (Ya stems).

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[12] Our notation of basic stems and desinence in this chapter is *morphophonemic* and is giving the following information: the accent type to which a stem belongs: fixed (e.g., *mîsli*, *grešî*) or shifting (e.g., *brani*), and the segmental structure class of a stem (consonantal or vocalic, truncating or non-truncating). The accent symbols used in basic stems are the conventional accent marks, the acute accent /ˊ/ and the grave accent symbol /ˋ/; together with the absence of an accent symbol in a basic stem they indicate the allocation of a given stem to one of the stem stress structure classes. In addition, in our basic stem notation an ẹ or ọ indicate that these two mid-vowels are automatically tense if they become long; and a macron /ˉ/ or a breve /˘/ over a vowel (e.g., *dā*, *brǐj*) show that the vowel under them is inherently long or short (see below).

In the present participles the desinence *-éč* occurs with Yi, Yé, and YČ-a stems; *-óč* appears elsewhere.

The selection of the passive participle's non-terminal alternant suffix is not simple. In general, the suffix *-n-* occurs with the Ya stems, its alternant *-t-* with the non-syllabic stems, and the alternant *-en-* elsewhere. The rules governing the YC stems are still more complicated (some YC stems may take *-n-*, others *-t-*); the best way to present them is in a list.

3.2 After the basic operation of truncation has been performed (see above), a number of further *modifications in a stem* may be required. The most significant of such stem modifications taking place before the vocalic desinences are:[13]

(1) change of *-ov-a*, *-ev-a*, *-uv-a* to *-uj* in YCov-a stems: e.g., *vẹ́rov-a* : 1 sg. pres. *véruj + e-m*; *pljúv-a* : *pljũj + e-m*;

(2) addition of a *-j-* to YCa basic stems in imperative and present participle; such an addition in the imperative causes the non-terminal suffix *-i-* to be dropped; e.g., *dệla*, pres. part. *dela + j + óč*; imper. sg. *déla + j*.

(3) changes of the *K ∿ Č* type of consonantal alternations in the present tense of the YK and YC-a stems, in the imperative of the YC-a stems, and in the passive participle of the YK and Yi stems; e.g., *rek* : 1st sg. pres. *rêč+e-m*, masc. sg. pass. p. *reč+èn-#*; *lag-a* : *láž + e-m*, imper. sg. *láž + i*; *mîsli* : masc. sg. pass. p. *mîšlj + en-#*;

(4) changes of the *K ∿ C* type of consonantal alternation in the imperative of the YK stems; e.g., *rek*, imper. sg. *rêc + i*, *lẹg* : *lêz + i*.

Before consonantal desinences the following major types of stem modifications occur:

(1) an automatic change of *-e* to *-i* in Ye basic stems; e.g., *dvîgne* : inf. *dvîgni + ti*, masc. sg. past part. *dvîgni + l-#*;

(2) addition of a -ə- to the basic stem in the masc. sg. past part. of the YO stems; e.g., *krad*, masc. sg. *krâd + ə + l-#*, but fem. sg. *krâd + l-a*;

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[13] For a more detailed description of all regular and deviating modifications in the CSS conjugation, see Lencek 1966.

TABLE OF BASIC STEMS

	BASIC STEMS	TYPE "A"	TYPE "B"	TYPE "C"	INFINITIVE	:	PRESENT	
VOCALIC	i-stems (Yi)[1]	mísli	gręšǐ	brani	mislI-ti	:	misl-I-m	TRUNCATING
	é-stems (Yę́)		bęsné		besnE-ti	:	besn-I-m	
	a-stems[2] (YČ-a)		molč-á		molČA-ti	:	molč-I-m	
	e-stems (Ye)	dvígne		kręne	dvigNI-ti	:	dvign-E-m	
	ova-stems (YCov-a)	vę́rov-a	kupov-á		verOVA-ti	:	veruj-E-m	
	a-stems[2] (YC-a)	rę́z-a		čes-a	rezA-ti	:	rež-E-m	
	a-stems[2] (YCa)	dę́la	končá		delA-ti	:	dela-#-m	
CONSONANTAL	C--stems[3] (YVC)	sęd			ses-ti	:	sed-E-m	
		rek			re-či	:	reč-E-m	
	S--stems[3] (YV́C)	bér			bra-ti	:	ber-E-m	
	Non-syllabic stems (CC)		cvr		cvre-ti	:	cvr-E-m	

Figure 36. TABLE OF BASIC STEMS

[1] The formulas in parentheses: Yi, Yé, YČ-a, Ye, YCov-a, YC-a, YCa, YVC, YV́C, CC (the latter three may appear combined as YC), represent the types of basic stems. The formulas will be used to refer to individual classes of stems.

[2] Note the difference between a-stem classes: (1) stems with a palatal consonant preceding the stem-final -a (YČ-a stems, e.g. molč-á) which in present tense combine with a non-terminal suffix -i-; (2) the truncating a-stems (YC-a stems, e.g. rę́z-a) which combine with a non-terminal suffix -e-; and (3) the non-truncating a-stems (YCa stems, e.g. dę́la) which in the present tense drop the non-terminal suffix.

[3] The consonantal stems ending in an obstruent (b, p, d, t, z, s, g, k) and the sonorant j (YVC stems), as well as those ending in a sonorant (v, r, m, n) and the clusters lj, rj (YV́C stems), have in a number of inflectional forms a relocation of stress. See below.

(3) change of *-ov* to *-u* in Yov (YC) basic stems; e.g., *plóv*, inf. *plú + ti*, fem. sg. past p. *plú + l*-a;

(4) change of a stem-final dental in the YC stems before the infinitive and supine desinence to *-s-*; e.g., *plet*: inf. *plês + ti*, supine *plês + t*;

(5) two changes in the non-syllabic stems: in YN stems before all consonantal desinences a replacement of the stem-final consonant *n* or *m* by *e* (e.g., *-čn*, inf. *-čẹ́ + ti*); in YL stems a replacement of the stem-final *r* by the sequence /ər/ before all consonantal desinences except in the infinitive and supine where an *-ẹ-* is added to the stem (e.g., *dr*, masc. sg. past part. *dŕ + l -#* /*dər + l-#*/, inf. *dr + ȇ + ti*);

(6) exchange of position of sounds in the basic stem in a group of YC stems (to be presented in a list); e.g., *bér* to *bra-* (*bêrem* vs. *bráti*), *pórj* to *pra-* (*pôrjem* vs. *práti*) *mȇlj* to *mlẹ́-* (*méljem* vs. *mléti*).

The sole type of desinence modification in the CSS verbal system is found in the infinitive and supine forms of YK stems where the stem-final velar combines with the desinence-initial dental into *č* and gives the desinences *-či* and *-č* respectively; e.g., *lẹg* : inf. *lé + či*, supine *lé + č*.

One Ye stem, *hoté*, has in the present tense an unexpected paradigm *hóč + e-m*, *hóč + e-š*, and another stem *htẹ́* with a parallel paradigm: *čèm*, *čèš* (all the remaining forms of this stem are regular).

Two CSS verbs have a series of suppletive stems, e.g., inf. *bȋti*, present *sə̀m*, *sì*, *jè*, *smò*, *stè sò*, *svà*, *stà*, *stà*; imper. *bódi bódite*; sg. past part. *bȋl*, *bilà*, *bilò* and *bȋlo*; conditional *bi*; and inf. *ȋti*, present *grém*, *gréš*, *gré*; *grémo*, *gréste*, *gréjo* and *gredó*; *gréva*, *grésta*, *grésta* (and *grèm*, *grèš*, *grè*; *grêmo*, *grêste*, *grêjo*; *grêva*, *grêsta*, *grêsta*; and *gremò*, *grestè*, *grẹdò*; *grevà*, *grestà*, *grestà*); imper. *pójdi pójdite*; past part.: *šə̀l*, *šlà*, *šlò* and *šló*.

3.3 The specification of prosodic features in a CSS verbal form is based on two relevant positions of accent in the Slovene verbal stems; verbal stems are either accented or non-accented, and if accented and polysyllabic, they may be divided further into stems with a non-final accent, and stems which stress the last syllable. These three positions represent the basic positions of the stem stress structural pattern of CSS.

CLASS "A": The non-final accent is the IRREMOVABLE (fixed) accent of the CSS stem stress structure. In this type of stem the place of stress follows the basic stem stress design. This type of fixed accent is in our notation of basic stems marked with the acute accent symbol /´/. E.g., *mísli*, 1 sg. pres. *mísl* + *i-m*, inf. *mísli* + *ti*; imper. sg. *mísl* + *i*, pl. *mísl* + *i-te*; masc. sg. past *mísli* + *l-#*, fem. sg. past *mísli* + *l-a*.

CLASS "B": The accent of the polysyllabic basic stems with the final syllable under stress is also IRREMOVABLE (fixed), with the understanding that it is automatically transferred from the truncated stem vowel to the first or only syllable of an accentable vocalic desinence.* This type of fixed accent is in our notation of basic stems also indicated with the acute accent symbol /´/. E.g., *greší*, 1 sg. pres. *greš* + *í-m*, inf. *greší* + *ti*, imper. sg. *grêš* + *i*, pl. *greš* + *í-te*; masc. sg. past *grêši* + *l-#*, fem. sg. *greší* + *l-a*.

CLASS "C": The accent of the non-accented basic stems represents the REMOVABLE (shifting) stress of the CSS stem stress structure. The non-accented basic stems move their stress before all vocalic desinences (accentable and non-accentable) from the final vowel to the preceding syllable of the stem. In our notation of basic stems the non-accented type is marked with the absence of any accent symbol. E.g., *brani*, 1 sg. pres. *brán* + *i-m*, inf. *braní* + *ti*; sg. imper. *brán* + *i*, pl. imper. *bran* + *í-te*; masc. sg. past *brâni* + *l-#*, fem. sg. *braní* + *l-a*.

The monosyllabic consonantal stems (e.g., *sẹd*, *rek*, *slóv*) belong to the Class "A" type, the monosyllabic open stems (e.g., *dā*, *vrě*), and the non-syllabic stems (e.g., *cvr*, *dr*, *-čn*) automatically to the Class "B."

Two sub-classes of monosyllabic consonantal stems differ in their stress structure: the stems whose stem-vowel is an open *e* or *o* use accentable alternating desinences in the passive participle and in verbal substantive, and have a regular relocation of stress to the initial or

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*In the CSS stem stress structure pattern, an accentable desinence is a vocalic desinence or an alternating vocalic desinence whose initial suffix is not incompatible with the stress. E.g., the 3 sg. pres. *-i-* of the Yi stems is an accentable desinence, the sg. imper. *-i-* is a non-accentable desinence. See below 3.4.

the only vowel of the desinence in the non-singular imperative forms, passive participle, and in verbal substantive. — Those basic stems which have the YV́C structure, however, use non-accentable alternating desinences in the passive participle and in verbal substantive, and have a regular relocation of stress to the initial vowel of the desinence of the imperative. E.g., *sẹd*, imper. *sḗd + i*, *sḗd + i-te*, masc. sg. pass. (*za*)*-sḗd + en*; *rek*, *rêci recíte*, (*iz*)*-rečȅn*; *bḗr*, *bḗri berîte*, (*iz*)*-brấn*.

We mark inherent shortness in the monosyllabic closed stems (e.g., *brĭj*, *mĕ̊lj*), and inherent shortness or length in monosyllabic open stems (e.g., *vrĕ*, *dā*, *žgā*). In both instances the breve or macron symbol shows vowel quantity in the masc. sg. past participle form. E.g., *brĭj*, 1 sg. pres. *brîjem*, masc. sg. past *brȉl*; *mĕ̊lj* : *méljem*, *mlȅl*; *vrĕ* : *vrȅm*, *vrȅl*; *dā* : *dấm*, *dấl*; *žgā* : *žgȅm*, *žgấl*, supine *žgất* (vs. *tka* : *tkȅm*, *tkȁl*, *tkȁt*).

3.4 *Modifications of Accent Before Non-Accentable Desinences.* Before those non-accentable desinences, which are defined as incompatible with stress, the accent structure of the basic stem is modified. There are three non-accentable desinences in the CSS inflection: the non-terminal suffix *-l-* in the masculine singular past participle, the suffix *-t* of the supine, and the non-terminal suffix *-i-* in the imperative singular form.

(1) Changes before *-l-* in the masc. sg. past participle: Stems of Class "B" (except the Yi, YČ-a, and non-syllabic stems) and all YC stems which in their basic stem appear with the symbol /˘/, shorten their stressed vowel under stress. E.g., *končấ* : *končȁl*, *kupov-ấ* : *kupovȁl*, *grĕj* : *grȅl*; however, *grešî* : *grešîl*, (*za*)*-čn* : (*za*)*-čȇl*.

All stems of Class "C," all YČ-a stems, and *all* the prefixed Yi stems of Class "B," move their length (accent) to the preceding syllable of the stem in this form. E.g., *moli* : *mô̄lil*, *čes-a* : *čê̄sal*, *molč-ấ* : *mô̄lčal*, *grẹšî* : *grešîl*, however, (*za*)*-grḗšil*. This relocation occurs also in four non-prefixed Yi stems: *blagoslovî*, *govorî*, *pustî*, *storî*.

The accent shift in the prefixed Yi stems creates a mandatory accent alternation inside the past participle paradigm, viz.:

INFINITIVE	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
grešíti	*grešíl*	*grešílo*	*grešíla*
zagrešíti	*zagréšil*	*zagrešílo*	*zagrešíla*
govoríti	*govóril*	*govorílo*	*govoríla*

(2) Changes before *-t* of the supine form: Stems of Class "B" (except Yi, YČ-a and non-syllabic stems, and all YC-ā stems where basic stem is marked with the symbol for length /¯/), shorten their stressed vowel. E.g., *ravná : ravnȁt*, *kupov-á : kupovȁt*; however, *gnojí : gnojít*; *sej-ā : seját.*

All stems of Class "C" and all YČ-a verbs move their length (accent) to the preceding syllable of the stem. E.g., *moli : môlit*, *čes-a : čêsat*, *molč-á : môlčat*, *bẹž-á : bêžat.*

(3) Changes before *-i-* in the imperative singular form: All stems of classes "B" and "C" shift their length (accent) to the preceding syllable of the stem in this form. E.g., *govorí : govôri*, *želé : žêli*, *molč-á : môlči*, *čes-a : čêši*, *krene : krêni*.

Note: When in the production of the imperative form a *j* is added to the stem (see above), the vowel under stress is short if an *-a-*, and long otherwise. E.g., *končá : končȁj*, *igrá : igrȁj*, but *kupov-á : kupúj*, *čuj : čúj*.

3.5. *The Specification of Vocalic Phonemes in the Stems Undergoing the Accent Shifts.* The accent retraction in verbal stems is accompanied by the following change of the quality of vocalic phonemes under the relocated accent:

The unstressed *e* and *o* receiving an accent in the position before an accentable desinence are always tense *é* /ẹ́/ and *ó* /ọ́/; in the position before a non-accentable desinence such an *e* and *o* are lax *ê* /é/ and *ô* /ó/, with the exception of the category of the prefixed Yi stems of Class "B," where the new accented vowel in the masculine sg. form of their *-l-* participle is always tense. E.g., *nosi* : present sg. *nósim*, *nósiš*, *nósi*; pass. part. sg. *nóšen*, *nóšeno*, *nóšena*; masc. sg. past *nôsil*: supine *nôsit*; imper. sg. *nôsi*; *čes-a* : *čêšem*, *čêšeš*, *čêše*; *čêsal*; *čêsat*; *čêši*; however, *(za)-grẹši* : *zagreším*, *zagréšil*.

3.6. *Change of the Quality of Vowel Phonemes under Stress.* In the consonantal stems, three formal categories change the quality of mid-vowels *e* and *o* under stress.

In the YV^{1}0 stems a lax to tense change in the mid-vowel series takes place in the supine and the masc. sg. past participle form; in the YV́C stems which end in *lj* and *rj* (YVlj and YVrj stems) in the present tense paradigm. E.g., *plet* : present *plêtem*, *plêteš*, *plête*; masc. sg. past *plêtel*, supine *plếst*; *kốlj* : present *kôljem*, *kôlješ*, *kôlje*.

SYNOPSIS OF PARADIGMATIC SETS The following synopsis presents paradigmatic sets for each of the regular basic classes of the CSS inflection. For the present tense only one form is given (1 sg.), two basic forms for the imperative (2 sg. and pl.), for the past and passive participle the masc. sg. and the fem. sg. forms, which may represent possible shifts of accent in these categories.

Note that individual verbs may not have all the inflected forms of a paradigm. Thus, the present adverb and both present participles are restricted to the verbs of imperfect aspect, and the passive participle to transitive verbs.

In three groups of inflected forms the place of accent follows the accentuation given in the basic stem: in the infinitive, in all forms of the past participle except the masc. sg. form, and in all non-singular imperative forms. Note also that in three categories (the simple present participle, the present adverb, and the past adverb) the accent is fixed: in both the present adverb and present participle it falls on the desinence, and in the past adverb on the syllable immediately before it.

The sequence of forms in the following synopsis is: *Infinitive*, 1st sg. present t. (*Present Tense*), 2nd sg. imper. (*Imperative Sg.*), 2nd pl. imper. (*Imperative Pl.*), masc. sg. past part. (*Past Part. Masc.*), fem. sg. past part. (*Past Part. Fem.*), masc. sg. pass. part. (*Passive Part. Masc.*), fem. sg. pass. part. (*Passive Part. Fem.*), v. subst. (*Verbal Subst.*), *Supine*, *Past Adverb*, *Present Adverb*, simple pres. part. (*Present Part.*), masc. sg. complex pres. part. (*Cmplx. Pres. Part. Masc.*), and fem. sg. complex pres. part. (*Cmplx. Pres. Part. Fem.*).

For each individual paradigm two sets of forms are given; one represents the notation of the forms according to the CSS norm based on phonemic quantity and stress, the other their notation according to the optional CSS norm based on phonemic tone and quantity.

Morphological Doublets and Stress Variants. There is still a considerable degree of fluctuation of forms and stress variants in the CSS conjugation. They entered the norm from the dialects with their predisposition for either the productive or non-productive patterns. Sanctioned by the grammarian, they function as alternants in free variation within the basic structure of the norm.

Two kinds of variations are significant. One governs the segmental structure of the forms, the other the prosodic types of individual classes. The former is reflected in a competition between the paradigms having consonantal alternations in a stem and paradigms without them (e.g., inf. *tíkati*, 1 sg. present *tíčem*, with a truncating stem of the YC-a type *tík-a*, and *tíkati*, *tíkam*, a non-truncating stem of the YCa type *tíka*), the latter in a competition with the patterns with different stem stress structures (e.g., *mázati*, *mážem* with a basic stem *máz-a*, and *mazáti*, *mážem*, with a basic stem *maz-a*).

To signal information on these two types of variations in our basic stem notation, we use the following conventions:

(1) a hyphen in parentheses which signals that the stem in question follows both inflectional patterns, the non-truncating and truncating; e.g., *tík(-)a*, 1 sg. present *tíkam* and *tíčem*; and

(2) a second accent on the basic stem which signals that the stem in question follows two different accentual structures, viz.:

(a) classas "A" and "B," if there are two acute accent symbols on a basic stem; e.g., *stráší*, inf. *strášiti* and *strašíti*;

(b) classes "C" and "A" or "C" and "B," if there is only one accent symbol (grave accent /ˋ/) on the stem; e.g., *dàhne*, inf. *dahníti*, present *dáhnem*, and inf. *dáhniti*, present *dáhnem*; *golì* : inf. *golíti*, present *gólim* and *golím*;

(c) Class "A" and optional forms of the "C" type in three forms: the infinitive, non-singular imperative, and non-masculine past participle. E.g., *mázà*, 1 sg. present *mážem*, masc. sg. past *mázal*, inf. *mázati* and *mazáti*, non-sg. imper. *mážite* and *mažíte*, and non-masc. past *mázala* and *mazála*.

INFINITIVE	mísliti	grešíti	braníti
PRESENT TENSE	míslim	greším	bránim
IMPERATIVE Sg.	mísli	grêši	bráni
IMPERATIVE Pl.	míslite	grešíte	braníte
PAST PART. Masc.	míslil	grešíl	bránil
PAST PART. Fem.	míslila	grešíla	braníla
PASSIVE PART. Masc.	-míšljen	-grešèn	-bránjen
PASSIVE PART. Fem.	-míšljena	-grešêna	-bránjena
VERBAL SUBST.	míšljenje	grešênje	bránjenje
SUPINE	míslit	grešít	bránit
PAST ADVERB	---	---	---
PRESENT ADVERB	mislé	---	---
PRESENT PART.	misléč	grešéč	branéč
CMPLX. PRES. PART.Masc.	mislèč	grešèč	branèč
CMPLX. PRES. Part.Fem.	misléča	grešéča	branéča

INFINITIVE	mísliti	grešíti	braníti
PRESENT TENSE	mîslim	greším	bránim
IMPERATIVE Sg.	mísli	grẹ́ši	bráni
IMPERATIVE Pl.	míslite	grešíte	braníte
PAST PART. Masc.	míslil	grešîl	bránil
PAST PART. Fem.	míslila	grešíla	branîla
PASSIVE PART. Masc.	-mîšljen	-grešȅn	-bránjen
PASSIVE PART. Fem.	-mîšljena	-grešéna	-bránjena
VERBAL SUBST.	míšljenje	grešénje	bránjenje
SUPINE	míslit	grešȋt	bránit
PAST ADVERB	---	---	---
PRESENT ADVERB	mislệ	---	---
PRESENT PART.	mislẹ́č	grešẹ́č	branẹ́č
CMPLX. PRES. PART.Masc.	mislȅč	grešȅč	branȅč
CMPLX. PRES. PART.Fem.	mislẹ́ča	grešẹ́ča	branẹ́ča

besnéti	molčáti	dvígniti	kreníti
besním	molčím	dvígnem	krénem
bêsni	môlči	dvígni	krêni
besníte	molčíte	dvígnite	kreníte
besnèl	môlčal	dvígnil	krênil
besnéla	molčála	dvígnila	kreníla
-besnèn*	-molčán	dvígnjen	-krénjen
-besnéna	-molčána	dvígnjena	-krénjena
besnênje	molčánje	---	---
besnét	môlčat	dvígnit	krênit**
-besnévši	-molčávši	dvignívši	krenívši
---	molčé	---	---
besnéč	molčéč	---	---
besnèč	molčèč	---	---
besnéča	molčéča	---	---

besnẹ́ti	molčáti	dvígniti	kreníti
besním	molčím	dvȋgnem	krẹ́nem
bésni	mọ́lči	dvígni	kréni
besníte	molčȋte	dvígnite	krenȋte
besnȅl	mọ́lčal	dvígnil	krénil
besnẹ́la	molčȃla	dvígnila	kreníla
-besnȅn*	-molčán	dvȋgnjen	-krénjen
-besnẹ́na	-molčána	dvȋgnjena	-krénjena
besnẹ́nje	molčánje	---	---
besnẹ̑t	mọ́lčat	dvígnit	krénit**
-besnȇvši	-molčȃvši	dvignȋvši	krenȋvši
---	molčẹ̑	---	---
besnẹ́č	molčẹ́č	---	---
besnȅč	molčȅč	---	---
besnẹ́ča	molčẹ́ča	---	---

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* zavrtèn, zavrtêna (zavrtȅn, zavrténa)

** tônit (tónit)

vérovati	kupováti	rézati	česáti	délati
vérujem	kupújem	réžem	čéšem	délam
véruj	kupúj	réži	čêši	délaj
vérujte	kupújte	režite	češíte	délajte
véroval	kupovàl	rézal	čêsal	délal
vérovala	kupovála	rézala	česála	délala
-vérovan	-kupován	-rézan	-česán	-délan
-vérovana	-kupována	-rézana	-česána	-délana
vérovanje	kupovánje	rézanje	česánje	délanje
vérovat*	kupovàt	rézat	čêsat	délat
---	---	---	---	---
---	---	rezáje	---	deláje
verujóč	kupujóč	rezóč	---	delajóč
verujòč	kupujòč	rezòč	---	delajòč
verujóča	kupujóča	rezóča	---	delajóča
vẹ́rovati	kupováti	rẹ́zati	česáti	dẹ́lati
vẹ́rujem	kupûjem	rệžem	čẹ́šem	dệlam
vẹ́ruj	kupûj	rẹ́ži	čéši	dẹ́laj
vẹ́rujte	kupûjte	rẹ́žite	češîte	dẹ́lajte
vẹ́roval	kupovȁl	rẹ́zal	čésal	dẹ́lal
vẹ́rovala	kupovâla	rẹ́zala	česâla	dẹ́lala
-vẹ́rovan	-kupován	-rệzan	-česán	-dệlan
-vẹ́rovana	-kupována	-rệzana	-česána	-dệlana
vẹ́rovanje	kupovánje	rẹ́zanje	česánje	dẹ́lanje
vẹ́rovat*	kupovȁt	rẹ́zat	čésat	dẹ́lat
---	---	---	---	---
---	kupováje	rezáje	---	deláje
verujọ́č	kupujọ́č	rezọ́č	---	delajọ́č
verujȍč	kupujȍč	rezȍč	---	delajȍč
verujọ́ča	kupujọ́ča	rezọ́ča	---	delajọ́ča

---

* svétovat (svẹ́tovat)

končáti	sésti	rêči	bráti	cvréti
končám	sédem	rêčem	bêrem	cvrèm
končàj	sédi	rêci	bêri	cvrì
končájte	sédite	recíte	beríte	cvríte
končàl	sédəl	rékəl	brál	cvŕl
končála	sédla	rêkla	brála	cvŕla
končán	-séden	rečèn	-brán	-cvŕt
končána	-sédena	rečêna	-brána	-cvŕta
končánje	---	---	bránje	cvrênje
končàt	sést	---	brát	cvrét
končávši	sédši	rȇkši	-brávši	---
---	---	---	---	---
---	---	rekóč	beróč	cvróč
---	---	rekòč	beròč	cvròč
---	---	rekóča	beróča	cvróča
končáti	sẹ́sti	réči	bráti	cvrẹ́ti
končȃm	sẹ̑dem	réčem	bérem	cvrȅm
končȁj	sẹ́di	réci	béri	cvrȉ
končȃjte	sẹ́dite	recȋte	berȋte	cvrȋte
končȁl	sẹ̑dəl	rẹ́kəl	brȃl	cvȓl
končála	sẹ́dla	rékla	brála	cvŕla
končán	-sẹ̑den	rečȅn	-brán	-cvȓt
končána	-sẹ̑dena	rečéna	-brána	-cvȓta
končánje	---	---	bránje	cvrénje
končȁt	sẹ̑st	---	brȃt	cvrẹ̑t
končȃvši	sẹ̑dši	rẹ̑kši	-brȃvši	---
---	---	---	---	---
---	---	rekọ́č	beróč	cvrọ́č
---	---	rekȍč	berȍč	cvrȍč
---	---	rekọ́ča	berọ́ča	cvrọ́ča

Verbal Stem Productivity in CSS. YCa, Yi and Ye classes of the structure type "A" are open and productive classes of CSS. The YCa class has been open to the borrowed stems from the oldest times (e.g., *barantáti*, *žebráti*, two early Slovene borrowings from MHG or/and It); it is dominating the contemporary language with its formatives *-íra-* and *-izíra-* (e.g., *sumírati*, *vulkanizírati*). The Yi stems are the second largest open class; together with the Ye verbs they are productive in new native formations (e.g., *oživčiti*, *uplíniti*). The remaining Yé, YČ-a, YC-a, YC(-)a, YCov-a and YC classes, as well as all "non-A" type of stems of the YCa, Yi and Ye classes are nonproductive and closed.

The paradigms of the CSS open and productive verbal classes are given in our Figure 37.

A LIST OF SELECTED SIMPLE STEMS OF CSS. In the following, a number of selected verbs of CSS are grouped into the eight stem classes and their stress type subgroups.

YCa STEMS (their "A" type is open; other types total some 450 stems);

blagoslávlja : blagoslávljati
čestíta : čestítati
číta : čítati
čŕta : čŕtati
čúva : čúvati
déla : délati
dobíva : dobívati
gléda : glédati
grája : grájati
jávlja : jávljati
kášlja : kášljati
kíma : kímati
koráka : korákati
kríža : krížati
kúha : kúhati
léga : légati
mánjka : mánjkati
míga : mígati
néha : néhati
obráča : obráčati
páda : pádati
pláva : plávati

práska : práskati
púšča : púščati
račúna : račúnati
séda : sédati
séga : ségati
séka : sékati
sréča : sréčati
šóla : šólati
švíga : švígati
téka : tékati
tíra : tírati
tŕga : tŕgati
tíka : tíkati
úpa : úpati
vára : várati
večérja : večérjati
vónja : vónjati
vráča : vráčati
vríska : vrískati
vŕta : vŕtati
zahtéva : zahtévati
zmága : zmágati

čveká : čvekáti
dā : dáti
divjá : divjáti

godrnjá : godrnjáti
igrá : igráti
jecljá : jecljáti
končá : končáti

migljá : migljáti
skakljá : skakljáti
sladká : sladkáti
veljá : veljáti
veslá : vesláti
vihrá : vihráti
zná : znáti

báhá : báháti
gúbá : gúbáti

čákà : čákáti
máhà : máháti
pláčà : pláčáti
zídà : zídáti

Yi STEMS (their "A" type is open; other types total some 500 stems):

cvíli : cvíliti
čísti : čístiti
gospodári : gospodáriti
govoríči : govoríčiti
kopíči : kopíčiti
križári : križáriti
mísli : mísliti
múči : múčiti
pisári : pisáriti
právi : práviti
smẹ́ši : sméšiti
stávi : stáviti

budí : budíti
dẹlí : delíti
glasí : glasíti
govorí : govoríti
kadí : kadíti
množí : množíti
podí : podíti
pustí : pustíti
redí : redíti
sadí : sadíti
slẹdí : sledíti
vabí : vabíti

brani : braníti
čuti : čutíti
hodi : hodíti
kupi : kupíti
lomi : lomíti
ljubi : ljubíti
moli : molíti
nosi : nosíti
prosi : prosíti
skọči : skočíti
toči : točíti
vozi : vozíti

jásní : jásníti
párí : páríti
pláší : plášíti
stráší : strášíti

cẹ́nȋ : céníti
hránȋ : hráníti
grábȋ : grábíti
pólṇȋ : pólṇíti
tláčȋ : tláčíti
vláčȋ : vláčíti

Ye STEMS (their "A" type is open; other types total some 50 stems):

dvígne : dvígniti
gíne : gíniti
mígne : mígniti
píhne : píhniti
ríne : ríniti
smúkne : smúkniti
sŕkne : sŕkniti
stísne : stísniti
ščípne : ščípniti
švígne : švígniti
vzdígne : vzdígniti
zíne : zíniti

krene : kreníti
nagne : nagníti
pogne : pogníti
tone : toníti

Figure 37. TABLE OF PRODUCTIVE CLASSES

PRESENT TENSE				
Sing.	1	délam	míslim	dvígnem
	2	délaš	mísliš	dvígneš
	3	déla	mísli	dvígne
Plur.	1	délamo	míslimo	dvígnemo
	2	délate	míslite	dvígnete
	3	délajo	mislijo	dvígnejo
Dual	1	délava	mísliva	dvígneva
	2	délata	míslita	dvígneta
	3	délata	míslita	dvígneta
IMPERATIVE				
Sing.	2	délaj	mísli	dvígni
Plur.	1	délajmo	míslimo	dvígnimo
	2	délajte	míslite	dvígnite
Dual	1	délajva	mísliva	dvígniva
	2	délajta	míslita	dvígnita
PRESENT ADVERB		deláje	---	---
PRESENT PART.		delajóč	misléč	---
CMPLX. PRES. PART.		delajòč	mislèč	---
PAST PART. Sing.		délal -a,-o	míslil -a,-o	dvígnil -a,-o
PASS.PART. Sing.		délan -a,-o	míšljen -a,-o	dvígnjen -a,-o
VERBAL SUBST.		délanje	míšljenje	---
PAST ADVERB		---	---	dvignívši
SUPINE		délat	míslit	dvígnit
INFINITIVE		délati	mísliti	dvígniti

máhnè : máhníti

dȁhne : dáhníti
pȁhne : páhníti
sȁhne : sáhníti

tẹ́gnè : tégníti

vȓne : vŕníti
obȓne : obŕníti
plȁne : pláníti

YČ-a STEMS (closed class; one stem of type "A," 49 stems of type "B"):

slíš-a : slíšati

bẹž-á : bežáti
brẹnč-á : brenčáti
diš-á : dišáti
drž-á : držáti
krič-á : kričáti

lež-á : ležáti
molč-á : mọlčáti
rẹnč-á : renčáti
vṙš-á : vršáti
tišč-á : tiščáti

YC-a STEMS (closed class; 35 basic stems):

pás-a : pásati
obrís-a : obrísati

čes-a : česáti
kop-a : kopáti
met-a : metáti
pelj-a : peljáti
isk-a : iskáti

tka : tkáti

brí3-à : brísáti
káz-à : kázáti
klíc-à : klícáti
líz-à : lízáti

rẹ́z-a : rézati
rís-a : rísati

posl-a : posláti
or-ā : oráti
sẹj-ā : sejáti
sij-ā : sijáti
smẹj-ā : smejáti

žgā : žgáti

máz-à : mázáti
pís-à : písáti
plẹ́s-à : plésáti
vẹ́z-à : vézáti

YC(-)a STEMS (closed class; total 159 basic stems):

díh(-)a : díhati
jáh(-)a : jáhati
káp(-)a : kápati
síp(-)a : sípati
súk(-)a : súkati

blebẹt(-)á : blebetáti
copọt(-)á : copotáti
klepẹt(-)á : klepetáti
krohọt(-)á : krohotáti

típ(-)a : típati
víh(-)a : víhati
láj(-)a : lájati
dáj(-)a : dájati
táj(-)a : tájati

ropọt(-)á : ropotáti
pekẹt(-)á : peketáti
topọt(-)á : topotáti
žvenkẹt(-)á : žvenketáti

drẹ́m(-)à : drémáti
glód(-)à : glódáti
jọ́k(-)à : jókáti
kóp(-)à : kópáti

píh(-)à : píháti
skák(-)à : skákáti
dáj(-)à : dájáti
máj(-)à : májáti

Yov-a STEMS (closed class; 556 stems):

dẹ́dova : dédovati
pámetova : pámetovati

péstova : péstovati
vẹ́rova : vérovati

bojevá R : bojeváti se
delová : delováti
glasová : glasováti
kaznová : kaznováti
kraljevá : kraljeváti
krščevá : krščeváti
kupčevá : kupčeváti
kupov-á : kupováti
negov-á : negováti
nočev-á : nočeváti
občev-á : občeváti
obratov-á : obratováti

odlikov-á : odlikováti
plačev-á : plačeváti
potov-á : potováti
praznov-á : praznováti
spoštov-á : spoštováti
spremljev-á : spremljeváti
stanov-á : stanováti
stopnjev-á : stopnjeváti
uradov-á : uradováti
vasov-á : vasováti
vsebov-á : vsebováti
zmagov-á : zmagováti

kov-ā́ : kováti
kljuv-ā́ : kljuváti

pljuv-ā́ : pljuváti
snov-ā́ : snováti

kmẹ́tov-á : kmétováti
obẹ́dov-á : obédováti

škọ́dov-á : škódováti
várov-á : várováti

Yé STEMS (closed class; one stem of type "A," 256 stems of type "B"):

víde : vídeti

besné : besnéti
bledé : bledéti
bolé : boléti
cveté : cvetéti
čepé : čepéti
goré : goréti
hité : hitéti
leté : letéti
noré : noréti
plesné : plesnéti
puhté : puhtéti

rjavé : rjavéti
rumené : ruménéti
sedé : sedéti
skrbé : skrbéti
sloné : slonéti
trpé : trpéti
vrté : vrtéti
zoré : zoréti
žaré : žaréti
želé : želéti
živé : živéti

YC STEMS (closed class; 107 basic stems):

dolb : dólbsti, dólbem
gọd : gósti, gódem

krad : krásti, krádem
sẹd : sésti, sédem

rast: rásti, rástem
lẹz : lésti, lézem
trẹs : trésti, trésem
sẹg : séči, séžem
sẹk : séči, séčem
bǐj : bíti, bíjem
brǐj : bríti, bríjem

kríj : kríti, kríjem
pij : píti, píjem
grěj : gréti, gréjem
štěj : štéti, štéjem
čuj : čúti, čújem
ob-uj : obúti, obújem
səz-uj : sezúti, sezújem

greb : grêbsti, grêbem
sop : sôpsti, sôpem
tep : têpsti, têpem
bled : blêsti, blêdem
bod : bôsti, bôdem
bred : brêsti, brêdem

ved : vêsti, vêdem
plet : plêsti, plêtem
nes : nêsti, nêsem
pek : pêči, pêčem
rek : rêči, rêčem
tek : têči, têčem

slóv : slúti, slóvem
zóv : zváti, zóvem
mélj : mléti, méljem
bér : bráti, bêrem

pér : práti, pêrem
vzám : vzéti, vzámem
snám : snéti, snámem
stán : státi, stánem

NON-SYLLABIC STEMS

cvr : cvréti, cvrèm
dr : dréti, drèm (dérem)
mr : mréti, mrèm
-pr : (od)-préti, (od)-prèm

zr : zréti, zrèm
žr : žréti, žrèm
-čn : (na)-čéti, (na)-čnèm
-žm : (o)-žeti, (o)-žmèm

IRREGULAR STEMS (27 vocalic, 15 consonantal):

vẹ́de : védeti, vém
povẹ́da : povédạti, povém
nọ́če : nóčem
nẹ́če : néčem
níma : nímam
vrě : vréti, vrèm

smě : sméti, smém
htě : htéti, čèm
bi : bíti, bȉl
sə : sem
šə : šə̀l, šlà, šlȍ

stọ́j : státi, stojím
jẹd : jésti, jém
prim : prijéti, prímem
gred : grèm
id : ídem
pọjd : pójdem

dọjd : dójdem
najd : nájti, nájdem
prid : príti, prídem
snid R : sníti se, snídem se
poj : péti, pôjem
mog : mǒči, mórem

COMPOUND INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES CSS has five compound tenses in active voice and two compound formations to express passive voice.

Compound tenses are made by combining two or more verbal forms, one of which is expressed by a participle (active or passive) conveying the basic idea of the action, the other with auxiliary verb forms of the appropriate tense. The auxiliary verb of CSS is *bíti* (basic stem *bi*) 'to be' in all its forms:

	SINGULAR			PLURAL			DUAL		
Present	*səm*	*sì*	*jè*	*smò*	*stè*	*sò*	*svà*	*stà*	*stà*
Future	*bôm*	*bôš*	*bô*	*bômo*	*bôste*	*bôdo*	*bôva*	*bôsta*	*bôsta*
Imperative	---	*bôdi*	---	*bôdimo*	*bôdite*	---	*bôdiva*	*bôdita*	---
Past Part.	*bîl* (masc.), *bilò* (neut.), *bilà* (fem.)								
Conditional				*bi*					

The past tense of *bîti* is a compound form, combining the paradigm of its past participle with the present tense forms: *bîl səm*.

The active voice compound tenses are made by combining the past participle with the appropriate forms of the auxiliary verb. The passive voice compound forms are formed by combining the passive participle with the appropriate forms of the auxiliary verb.

The passive voice of the imperfective verbs is in CSS normally expressed either with the reflexive passive, the subject being at the same time the goal and the actor; e.g., *hiša se zida*; or with the impersonal reflexive forms, with the subject and goal absent; e.g., *zida se*.

		PRESENT	PAST	PLUPERFECT	FUTURE
ACTIVE	INDICATIVE		hvalil sem	hvalil sem bil	hvalil bom
	CONDITIONAL	hvalil bi	hvalil bi bil		
	IMPERATIVE				
PASSIVE	INDICATIVE	pohvaljen sem	pohvaljen sem bil		pohvaljen bom
	CONDITIONAL	pohvaljen bi bil			
	IMPERATIVE	pohvaljen bodi			
		EXPRESSED WITH REFLEXIVE "se"			
	INDICATIVE	zida se	zidalo se je	zidalo se je bilo	zidalo se bo
	CONDITIONAL	zidalo bi se	zidalo bi se bilo		

Figure 38. TABLE OF COMPOUND TENSES

CHAPTER SIX

THE HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE AND ITS SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

HISTORICAL MEMENTO A literary language is a dialect which is elevated in a given period to the rank of a standard language because of a certain prestige accrued to this dialect over all the others of a language area. In the case of modern Slovene, it was Primož Trubar (1508-1586), together with Jurij Dalmatin (ca. 1847-1589), Sebastjan Krelj (1538-1567), and Adam Bohorič (ca. 1520-?) who conferred this distinction upon the Central dialects.

There was, however, no cultural, political, nor any particular social prestige which could promote the supremacy of the Central dialects at that time. It was therefore only natural that when a desire and a need arose during the Reformation to select a dialect to be used for proselytizing, Trubar turned to his own native speech. The selection of the dialect to be used in writing was arrived at not by way of scientific research, but through a pragmatic search for a linguistic unity which would help to carry the Reform to the farthest limits of the Slavic dialectal continuum within the Inner Austrian lands and beyond.[1]

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[1] Cf. Trubar's statement in his introduction to *Ta Evangeli Svetiga Matevža*, 1555: "Since our Slovene language is not spoken everywhere in the same manner — the Carniolans who know many words of their own, speak it differently, the Styrians, the Lower Carniolans and the Bezjaks differently, the inhabitants of the Kras and Istria differently, and the Croatians differently again — we wished to translate our work into the Carniolan language for several reasons, not the least because it seems to us that it would be understandable to the people of these other lands as well. That is why in our translation and interpretation we have not searched for words which were beautiful, smooth, high, learned, new and unknown; we used instead the common Carniolan simple words which can be

Thus, the Lower Carniolan dialect, one of the two central dialects of Slovene, was stripped of some local peculiarities and introduced for printing; the publication of the very first books in the new language, a *Cathechismus* (1550) and an *Abecedarium* (1550)[2] made it prestigious. The prestige grew up with a cultural miracle: in a relatively short span of forty-four years, the young Protestant "Divine Church of the Slovene language" printed forty-six books in the new vernacular, including a complete Bible and the first grammar of the new language.[3]

Prior to that time there had been no comparable cultural undertaking among the Slovenes, although some records of their language, as we have seen, appeared earlier, and — as some linguists would like to believe — their formulary texts, such as the General Confession formulas, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed, might have been much more traditional and mutually dependent than usually thought,

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easily understood by every good humble Slovene." (Quoted from M. Rupel (ed.), *Slovenski protestantski pisci*, 2nd ed. (Ljubljana, 1966), 65.

Bezjaks (Bezjaki, sg. Bezjak), is a provincial ethnicon which in the sixteenth century denoted a Slavic population which lived in some areas of Istria, along the Kolpa River, and in the Zagorje north of Zagreb. Linguistically, Bezjaki are the speakers of Kajkavian, or at least of a mixed Kajkavian dialect (in Istria, e.g., of a Čakavian-Kajkavian dialect). Dalmatin in his "Register" of 1584 (see below), defined the term with the equation: "Slovénski ali Besjazhki," and opposed it to "Hervazki, Dalmatinski, Istrianski."

The Inner Austrian lands (*Innerösterreich*), the backbone of the Habsburg possessions in the Eastern Alps since the Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519), consisted of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and the adjoining coastland of Istria and Trieste, and since 1500, also the county of Gorizia and Gradisca. From the fifteenth century on, and in particular during 1564-1740, the administrative center of the Inner Austrian lands was Graz in Styria.

[2] *Katechismus In der Windischenn Sprach, sambt einer kürtzen Auslegung in gesangweiss. Item die Litanai und ein predig vom rechten Glauben, gestelt, durch Philopatridum Illiricum* (Tübingen, 1550).

Abecedarium und der klein Katechismus In der Windischen Sprach. Ane Buquice is tih se ty Mladi inu preprosti Slouenci mogo vkratkim zhasu brati nauuzhiti. . . . (Tübingen, 1550)

[3] *Biblia, tv ie, svetv pismv, stariga inu Noviga Testamenta, Slovenski tolmazhena, skusi IVRIA DALMATINA* (Wittemberg, 1584).

Arcticae horulae succisivae, de Latinocarniolana Literatura, ad Latinae Lingvae Analogiam accomodata . . . Adami Bohorizh . . . Witebergae, 1584.

and perhaps even related to the *Freising Fragments*.[4] The language of the earliest records of Slovene, however, was still a pre-literary written one and there was not a single text among these records which could be credited with serving as a model for a literary language in the same way as Trubar's first volumes.

It has been suggested quite recently that Trubar wrote in a language which may be labelled a sixteenth-century Ljubljana dialect.[5] In his time, Ljubljana was already the political and administrative capital of the central Slovene provinces. From 1461 on it was the seat of a bishopric and since 1521 an important communication and commercial node between Trieste and the Empire. Linguistically, however, the city was part of the Lower Carniola dialect, and if the phonetic features of the Upper Carniolan dialect could indeed be found in it, these features could be only sporadic. When Trubar admittedly decided to write in his native Lower Carniolan, Raščica dialect,[6] his decision might have been supported by the experience of his Ljubljana years (1535-1540). Conversely, the Upper Carniolan phonetic features discovered in Trubar's early texts may indicate that Trubar might have acquired them in Ljubljana, and that he might have let them slip into his language inadvertently. The presence of a few Upper Carniolan features would not, however, justify viewing the Ljubljana speech already as a cultural interdialect, although this very idea — that it might have participated in the earliest phase of the evolution of literary Slovene — is plausible and quite significant.

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[4] The records of written Slovene preceding the first printed texts, *Freising Fragments* (ca. 1000 A.D.), *MS of Rateče* (1362-1392), *MSS of Stična* (1428, 1440), have been treated traditionally as fortuitous, isolated and unconnected records (cf. Kidrič 1938, 1-9). Later, the question was raised whether religious formulas, handed down in Slovene communities for centuries before being printed, could not, perhaps, represent a tradition, and their records be treated as a "pre-literary written tradition" (Grafenauer 1931, 116-117). After the recent (re-)discovery of the *MS of Stara gora* with the texts of the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Apostles' Creed, dated 1492-1498 (from Stara gora, It. *Castelmonte*, near Čedad), some Slovene linguists again tend to overemphasize this latter view. Cf. Pogorelec 1973/74, 199.

[5] Cf. Rigler 1968, 232-240.

[6] "I have made an effort to use words and phrases which could be easily understood by every Slovene, the one from Carniola, Lower Styria, Carinthia, Kras, Lower Carniola, or to a Bezjak. That is why I selected the Slovene peasants' speech as spoken in Raščica where I was born." From Trubar's dedication of his *Ta prvi dejl tiga noviga testamenta*, 1557; cf. Rupel (ed.) 1966, 80.

Not all Slovene Portestants wrote in Trubar's language. Krelj had a different concept of literary Slovene (e.g., his *Otrozhia Biblia*, 1566) and his use of his native speech of Vipava in the westernmost Slovene speech territory contributed to the foundation of the literary norm. Dalmatin, a native of the eastern part of Lower Carniola, and the translator of the Bible (his *Jesvs Sirah* [1575] appeared as the first product of Protestant typography in Ljubljana), broadened this norm still further. The language of the Bible which subsequently became the foundation of the literary language, combined therefore at least three different regional bases.

Book production dropped significantly during the Catholic Counter-Reformation (after 1598), which later destroyed a significant part of the Slovene Protestant literature; the few books that were published sustained the Trubar-Krelj-Dalmatin norm. This tenacity of tradition was particularly significant during the period when the Central dialects were undergoing linguistic changes which suddenly created a dangerous gap between the written language and the dialects. In the westernmost and Central dialects the unstressed and short stressed high vowels *i* and *u* weakend and even disappeared, and the velar *ł* became a bilabial *w*. Thus *mìš* 'mouse' became *mə̀š*, *krȕh* 'bread' > *krə̀x*, *pálica* 'stick' > *pálca*, *siróta* 'orphan' > *sróta*, *dȁl* 'he gave' > *dȁw*, *vólk* 'wolf' > *vówk*, and *stȍl* 'chair' > *stȍw*. Many a writer vacillated in his choice of a model, patterning himself now on the written tradition, now on the speech habits of his dialect. During the first half of the eighteenth century serious attempts were made to confine the production of printed texts within the diocesan and provincial boundaries, and consequently to restrict the language of publication to local vernaculars. The inertia of the literary tradition started by the Protestants and, in particular, the common sense and publishing activity of such men as Tomaž Hren (1560-1630), Janez L. Schoenleben (1618-1681), Matija Kastelec (1620-1688), Janez Svetokriški (ca. 1645-1714), helped to overcome the temptations of linguistic particularism. One hundred and fifty years after the official ban of the Reformed Church in the Slovene lands (1598), the adherence to the sixteenth-century norm helped to preserve the unity of the written language.

Thematically, the printed Slovene texts of the sixteenth-century tradition aimed exclusively at proselytizing for the Reformed Church. Thus, the first functional orbit of printed Slovene was limited to didactic primers and catechisms, Biblical and liturgical texts, and prayer- and hymn-books. Two remarkable exceptions were Trubar's church order (*Cerkovna ordninga*, 1564), a church service book and the first legal-constitutional document in Slovene, and Dalmatin's differential vocabulary appended to his Bible (1584: "Register Nékaterih beséd, katére Crajnski, Coroshki, Slovénski ali Besjazhki, Hervazki, Dalmatinski, Istrianski, ali Crashki, se drugázhi govore"). Such a philological work as the first Slovene grammar (Bohorič's *Arcticae horulae*, 1584) was, however, still published in Latin.

During the early phase of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, no new subjects were introduced into publishing. Only later, toward the end of the seventeenth century, the influence of the Italian and Central European Baroque affected a preliminary broadening of the functional use of the literary language. Nevertheless, the new subjects were still utilitarian and religious-edificatory. Among them were translations of meditational literature (Thomas à Kempis, *De immitatione Christi*; first translated by Kastelec, then by Father Hipolit in 1719), original manuals of practical piety (Kastelec, *Nebeški cilj*, 1684), or voluminous collections of Catholic sermons, e.g., Svetokriški's *Sacrum Promptuarium* (1691-1707; five volumes), Father Rogerij's *Palmarium Empyreum* (1731-1743; two volumes). It was in this last, homiletic literature, that printed Slovene began to be used for elaborated, rich and lively expression, deliberately focusing on rhetorical and theatrical effects.

The use of a pre-literary written Slovene in non-printed form is attested in these centuries for all classes of society: peasants, burghers, and even nobility. The language of the preserved official and judicial records in Slovene (1500-1800), of translations and adaptations of codes (e.g., *Gorske bukve*, 1582), of oath formulas, texts of the peasants' feudal oath, the burghers' loyalty oath, the oath for judicial proceedings, and witness-oath formulas, are discussed today as a type of Slovene chancery language which correlated with other forms of literary Slovene regardless of their contingent nature.[7]

A sudden thematic and functional broadening of the printed language took place in the second half of the eighteenth century (after 1768), during the Enlightenment. This was a time of increased book production in new non-religious subjects and genres, in numerous popular-didactic texts on farming, animal husbandry, apiculture, horticulture, culinary arts, medicine, history, geography, and the first challenge to use Slovene in schools and public life. Printed Slovene, used in the first poetic anthologies (*Skupspravlanje Kraynskeh Pissaniz od Lepeh Umetnost*, 1779-1781: Father Janez Damascen Dev and Valentin Vodnik), in popular almanacs (since 1795 by Vodnik), in the first newspaper (1797 also by Vodnik), on the stage (1789: Tomaž Linhart), in a new translation of the Bible (1784-1808: Jurij Japelj, Blaž Kumerdej, Jernej Škrinjar), in poetry (Marko Pohlin, Dev, and Vodnik), and finally in prose (Matevž Ravnikar), firmly established its tradition as a literary language. A conscious philological effort was now made (Vodnik, Jernej Kopitar) to define and to recodify an all-Slovene literary usage on these foundations. While Kopitar's all-Slovene "norm" was still conceptual and theoretical, it nevertheless marked the beginning of modern literary Slovene. The return to Protestant roots clearly indicated a departure from the living speech to a fixed spelling and a final retreat from the spoken word to a historical and etymological writing. The spelling of Slovene became morphophonemic: *dal* (-l-part.) 'give' for the spoken *daw*, and *odsekati* (inf.) 'cut off,' *gladko* (adv.) 'smoothly' for *otsekati*, *glatko*.

Beginning with the Enlightenment, a number of socio-historical factors helped to broaden the dialectal basis of the written language. With a generation or two of Upper Carniolan writers (Vodnik, Linhart, and Japelj), the linguistic features of Upper Carniolan began to advance in the literary language. Its vowel system was affected first: at the beginning of the nineteenth century Kopitar (1780-1844) encoded the Upper Carniolan monophthongal values of etymological *ě* and long *ō*. From this point onward, *délo* 'work' and *móst* 'bridge' were written instead of Trubar's *dejlu*, *must*. Something similar took place in morphology: the Lower Carniolan structure was partially modified and partially strengthened under the impact of the Upper Carniolan pattern; e.g., *bratam* 'brother,' *letam* 'year' (instr. sg., dat. pl. masc. neut.) for earlier *bratom*, *letom*, and *bratama*, *letama* (dat. instr. dual) for *bratoma*, *letoma*. The new Upper Carniolan code was now universally accepted, from Japelj (1744-1807), Linhart (1756-1795), Vodnik (1758-1819), and all the Jansenist writers, to Janez Cigler (1792-1869), France Prešeren (1800-1849), the poets of *Kranjska Čbelica* (1830-1832, 1834, 1848), and Janez Bleiweis (1808-1881). In poetry and prose, in the first scholarly works in Slovene, and in journalistic prose, the Upper Carniolan dialect was gaining ground everywhere. Finally, Prešeren employed it in poetic function, which is the highest level of a literary language. Franc S. Metelko's (1789-1860) attempt to revive the prestige of his native Lower Carniolan dialect (*Lehrgebäude der slowenischen Sprache*, 1825), sounded as the voice of one in the wilderness. The fusion of both central dialects was now brought to completion, with the Upper Carniolan dialect in the superior role of an arbiter of taste and correctness for more than half a century.

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[7] Cf. "Iz zgodovine uradne slovenščine," by Teodor Domej, Janez Kos, Peter Ribnikar, Ema Umek, Erich Prunč, and Jože Koruza, in *Jezik in slovstvo*, 19 (1973/74), 255-268.

During the peak of Slovene Romanticism (1819-1848), two existential problems of the literary language were tackled: first, the problem of the relation of a literary language to its dialects in principle, that is, the problem of the theoretical basis of a literary language of the integrational type; and second, from a practical point of view, the problem of the unification of the literary traditions of different dialectal bases, notably the central and eastern, the Carniolan and Styrian dialects.

The theoretical side of these problems was solved by Matija Čop (1797-1835). Both Kopitar's teaching on the need of an improved alphabet and the traditional particularism of the Slovene provinces of the time brought about two attempts to improve the Protestant orthography: Peter Danjko's *Lehrbuch der windischen Sprache* (1824) and Metelko's *Lehrgebäude der slowenischen Sprache* (1825), each proposing a series of new graphemes from the Cyrillic alphabet and a new set of dialectal restrictions. When it became clear that these innovations might jeopardize the evolution of the young Slovene literature, Čop intervened with a reasonable and realistic theory of literary languages and dialect integration.[8] He proposed that a literary language must be based on features which are above local and dialectal differences. Only norms which tend to be as general as possible, which promote what is etymologically correct and acceptable to all dialects, and which are capable of resolving the inherent problems of euphony in a language, could create an expedient and refined literary language to serve the cultural needs of a nation. These principles have guided the evolution of the Slovene literary language ever since.

The practical side of the existential problem of literary Slovene which led to the acceptance of an essentially Carniolan literary language in Carinthia and Styria, arose immediately before the first wave of the Illyrian Movement.[9] In a language as dialectally differentiated as Slovene, the insistence on a dialectal basis favoring Upper Carniolan

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[8] Cf. Matija Čop's "Nuovo discacciamento di lettere inutili, Das ist: Slowenischer ABC-Krieg," *Illyrisches Blatt* (Ljubljana, 1833), now available in Slovene translation in *Matija Čop, Izbrano delo*, ed. August Pirjevec (Celje: Družba sv. Mohorja, 1935), 47-79; and in *Jernej Kopitar, Matija Čop, Izbrano delo*, ed. Janko Kos (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1973), 169-228.

[9] By the term Illyrian Movement are understood several phases of the Croatian National Awakening (1835-1848). The Croatian leaders of this movement (Ljudevit Gaj, Janko Drašković) initially made an appeal to all South Slavic communities to join their efforts for building a South Slavic cultural-political unity with one literary language and one literature, the Illyrian (1835). One year later another appeal was made for the adoption of the Štokavian-Ijekavian dialect and for the creation of one literature based on this dialect (1836). Both appeals received a mixed reaction among educated Slovenes: initially welcomed by some of the intelligentsia in Eastern Styria and Carinthia, they were openly rejected in Ljubljana and in other cultural centers of the non-peripheral regions. Only one prominent Slovene, the poet Stanko Vraz (1810-1851), joined the Illyrian Movement and accepted Štokavian language; his poetry became part of Croatian literary tradition. A new phase of the Illyrian Movement among educated Slovenes soon began after 1848; it characterized the Slovene cultural life during and after the rule of the Bach system in the Monarchy (1848-1857).

Although the Illyrian Movement did not succeed in attracting Slovenes, it left some marks on Slovene culture. One is the Czech spelling system (as used by Ljudevit Gaj) which was adopted in Slovene printing already in the west could not but widen the gap between the central dialects' norm and the literary practice of Styrian writers on the east. In this light Peter Danjko's (1787-1873) separatist attempt to create an East-Styrian literary language (1824) becomes more understandable. The narrowing of the basis of the literary norm to the northwestern speech area of Slovene, epitomized in Prešeren's poetry, helps also to explain Stanko Vraz's departure to Zagreb in 1836. It is a fact that the language of Prešeren's poetry, or of *Kranjska Čbelica*, or even of the first five years of the journal *Kmetijske in Rokodelske Novice* (1843-1848),[10] was not easily understood in contemporary Styria. It therefore had to take more than a linguist and more than a poet to apprehend at that time the significance and advantage of accepting a literary norm of a remote dialectal base for the sake of the linguistic unity of Slovene. This is precisely what Anton Murko (1809-1871) did with his grammars and dictionaries[11] at the time when his fellow countryman Vraz left the Slovene cause. The dilemmas facing Murko and Vraz were very similar; the decisions they made were opposite and, of course, irrevocable. Under the circumstances, Murko's decision to accept and to use the central dialects' norm was a most significant integrational move, and one might venture to say that the sacrifice of the Slovene peripheral literary tradition to the central literary language was of no less magnitude than the sacrifice of the Croatian *Kajkavian* tradition in favor of the *Štokavian* language. The integration was finally and fully implemented only much

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in 1839; the other is a close interaction between the Slovene and Croatian linguistic traditions which started soon after 1849.

[10] *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Peasant and Craftsman News) (Ljubljana, 1843-1902), published by Kranjska kmetijska družba, until 1881, edited by Dr. Janez Bleiweis. Initially a weekly, the journal was the only Slovene periodical with a relatively broad circulation. *Novice*, as the journal has been known since 1849, was to serve primarily the practical needs of the Slovene countryside. For several decades it was also the only cultural and literary outlet of educated Slovenes and therefore a most important vehicle of linguistic, political and national awakening of the Slovene masses. Cf. S. Mihelič, "Kmetijska družba in ustanovitev 'Novic,'" *SR*, 1 (1948), 27-58.

[11] Cf. *Theoretische-praktische Slowenische Sprachlehre* (Graz, 1832); the 2nd edition of this textbook appeared already in Czech orthography (1843). Cf. also *Slovénsko-Némški in Némško-Slovénski róčni besédnik* (Graz, 1833).

later (1860-1865), when, together with all the remaining Slovene periphery, Styria finally opted for unity with the Carniolan tradition.

Of particular significance among several factors which contributed to this victory were those pertaining to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the "literary" productivity of the preceding century or so. The most prolific Slovene writers of this period belonged to the Central dialects' tradition; moreover, all of the most significant Slovene authors of the period — Dev, Japelj, Kumerdej, Skrinjar, Linhart, Vodnik, Ravnikar, Prešeren, most of the contributors to *Kranjska Čbelica*, Andrej Smolè, Bleiweis and most of the correspondents of his *Novice* (since 1843) — were from Upper Carniola. Both of the most influential grammarians of the period, Kopitar (in his *Grammatik* of 1808) and Vodnik (in his *Pismenost* of 1812), were promoting Upper Carniolan features in a basically Lower Carniolan literary language norm. This was both the norm which Čop and Prešeren were taught by their teachers in gymnasium, and, above all, the norm of the idiom which Prešeren lifted to poetic function, in which the Romantic age saw the highest dignity of a language belonging to a cultivated society.

About 1850 the Slovene literary language entered a new phase, which we will examine closely from a different angle.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERARY SLOVENE Dilemmas and compromises, the resolution of internal and external antinomies, the choice between the alternatives and adjustments of opposing principles, are part of the evolution of every literary language. The external integrational processes of this evolution, which, in a language as differentiated as Slovene, may be more intensive than elsewhere, are essentially sociolinguistic in the sense that they concern the relation between language and society. Every step and aspect of their evolution, from the first choice of a model for the literary language and for its dialectal basis, the process of its territorial and functional expansion, the growth of its norm, the growth of its stability, to the process of its intellectualization, may represent specific sociolinguistic dilemmas which involve specific sociolinquistic resolutions. Some of these, distinctive for modern Slovene, have been selected for our discussion.

SLOVENE OR SLAVIC? One of the most persistent dilemmas in the history of literary Slovene relates to the question of its very existence, its self-identity and individuality. Should a Slovene literary langauge exist at all, should a Slovene writer write primarily for the speakers of his language or for a broader South Slavic audience, or should he abdicate his own language in favor of an Illyrian, or later a Serbocroatian koiné? The most valid considerations for different degree of such self-renunciation, given again and again by its proponents, were the advantages a Slovene author would have for reaching a broader audience and for enjoying a greater sphere of influence and even greater material rewards. The price at which all these advantages might be bought was the prospect of depriving a society of its right to possess a higher culture and the prospect of alienating the educated class from its own people. In the historical perspective, such an alienation would necessarily bring about an intensified exposure of the Slovene society and culture to the pressures of Germanization and Romanization which might have had catastrophic consequences. Two possible results of such a self-rununciation persisted for centuries throughout Slovene history: the reduction of Slovene to an idiom of a lower prestige vis à vis a more learned South Slavic language (therefore a typical situation of diglossia), or a complete self-denial in favor of another South Slavic literary language. Time after time in Slovene cultural history these possibilities opposed the idealist to the pragmatist; better, the dreamer to the realist. Their compromises decisively influenced the evolution of the Slovene literary language.

Primož Trubar must have struggled with this dilemma before he decided to use his own dialect in his first book. We know of his earliest intentions (1548) to write in a language which would help him to convert Croats to the Reformed Church. This must have been the oldest and the earliest design to create a linguistic-literary unity of Slovenes and Croats.[12] But three years later a different solution prevailed in Trubar's mind and he decided on a less pretentious but more practical plan: to address first his fellow countrymen in his and their native speech. Consequently, Trubar created a written language for the Slovenes, although his first book, *Cathechismus in der Windischenn Sprach* (1550), printed abroad under the pseudonym "Philopatridus Illyricus," may have echoed his earlier ambitions. More than anyone else, Josef Dobrovský understood the irrevocability of Trubar's decision when he ventured to observe to Kopitar: "*Wäre doch Truber ein Kroat gewesen!*"[13]

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[12] Cf. F. Kidrič, *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva, Od začetkov do Zoisove smrti* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1938), 26.

In 1555 a South Slavic Protestant literary program was discussed in Ulm, Germany. The initiative was in the hands of Pietro Paulo Vergerio (1498-1565), an Italian and former bishop of Capodistria (Koper). Having had Glagolitic priests in his diocese, he knew something about the similarity of the Slavic languages and suggested to Trubar that he introduce into his publications a more general and common South Slavic langauge with which he, Trubar, could propagate the Reformation southeast of the Carniolan borders. It seems that Vergerio-Vergerius had in mind an artificial language, whose basis was Church Slavonic.[14] This was the first offer to the Slovenes to adopt a non-Slovene literary language. Trubar was too much a realist and a practical-minded missionary and could not accept this offer; the insistence of the Protestant nobility and burghers in Ljubljana on a separate Carniolan written language certainly backed up his decision.

A compromise to the dilemma of identity was formulated by Sebastjan Krelj in the same century. A native of the westernmost Slovene dialects, for four years a student and assistant to Matthias Flaccius Illyricus (Matija Vlašić, 1520-1575), who was a professor of Hebrew at Jena University, Krelj — more than any other member of the Slovene Protestant community — had a broader view of the Slovene dialects, a clearer insight into the older South Slavic cultural tradition, and a keener awareness of the Slovene-Kajkavian-Čakavian dialectal system. The orthographic and lexical reforms he advanced in his *Postilla Slovenska* (1567) brought

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[13] Cf. Vatroslav Jagić (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Dobrovský und Kopitar (1808-1828)* (Berlin, 1885), 118.

[14] Like other humanists, Vergerius understood Slavic languages to be dialects of one single language, and not knowing the cultural conditions of the Slavic lands, he spoke of them as of contemporary Italian, French or Spanish. Vergerius' South Slavic language was supposed to be an artificial language, perhaps like Church Slavonic, but written in the Latin script, and invested with elegance and distinction. Cf. Kidrič 1938, 30.

Trubar's model of Slovene into creative contact with another Slavic language for the first time. When Krelj censored Trubar's use of Germanisms, he also showed how to restore the Slovene lexicon: Slovene, as a member of a greater family of Slavic languages, must draw on those languages in case of need. The compromise suggested a transfusion therapy of a literary language which is known in Slovene cultural history as the Slavization of Slovene.

The dilemma of identity reappeared during the first half of the nineteenth century in a most acute form. Bred by a feeling of helplessness under the increasing pressures of Germanization, and facing apparently insurmountable obstacles in the attempt to integrate the Slovene literary traditions, this dilemma intensified when it was provoked by impulses coming from the outside world. Jan Kollár's vision of Slavic reciprocities treated Slovene as a non-literary dialect; in Ljudevit Gaj's design, Slovene would have to disintegrate in a South Slavic Illyrian language. In 1838 Josef P. Šafařík still suggested that Slovenes accept a form of diglossia: Illyrian for a higher, sophisticated literature, Slovene for the needs of the non-educated masses. Stanko Vraz and František Čelakovský proposed this plan to Prešeren; it was Prešeren's genius which resolved the identity crisis of literary Slovene.[15] His small *Poezije* (1847), based on a lexicon of not more than two thousand seven hundred non-literary words of the basic vocabulary of Slovene, created a poetic language, qualitatively on a par with the European poetry of the time. No compromise was involved in such an answer. The identity of the Slovene literary language became an accepted and recognized fact.

A second wave of Illyrism started up among educated Slovenes immediately before and after 1848. This time the stress was on an "organic" convergence of languages; better, on a gradual integration of Slovene into a common South Slavic language. This idea, which first tempted Vraz to join the Illyrian Movement, now found a new evangelist in the Carinthian priest Matija Majar Ziljski (1809-1892). His *Pravila kako izobraževati ilirsko narečje i u obče slovenski jezik* (1848) suggested a concrete plan for the integration of specified linguistic features of

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[15] Cf. Vraz-Prešeren's correspondence, in: F. Kidrič, *Prešéren, I. Pesnitve, pisma* (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1936), 322-332.

Slovene into the new Illyrian language.[16] A new generation of Slovene Illyrians, mostly seminarians and young clerics, found such a plan fascinating and never was there more correspondence in Illyrian among the young Slovene intelligentsia than during those years (1846-1852). As long as the seminarians wrote in their Illyrian construct for their own use and pleasure, their dreams flew high; however, as soon as they assumed the responsibility for the guidance and care of their flocks in the villages, they had to come down to earth. If they wanted to be understood, they had to communicate in conventional Slovene.[17] Thus in the Slovene lands, life itself did not permit concessions to Illyrian dreams.

Another factor which greatly helped to resolve the dilemma of Slovene self-identity was the young Slovene journalism of the time. Beginning with 1843 the *Kmetijske in Rokodelske Novice*, and, from 1848 on, a few other newspapers engaged their readers in an intensive and productive discussion on the problems of the unity of the Slovene language and its proposed merger with Illyrian. Correspondents and readers from the entire Slovene linguistic territory participated in the debate. While an open attitude toward all dialects dominated in their discussion in principle, realism again prevailed in practice, and the practical-minded educated Slovenes once again opted for the central, Carniolan Slovene, the traditional type of literary language. Thus at the time when Vuk Karadžić, Djura Daničić, Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Ivan Mažuranić and Franz Miklosich signed the Vienna agreement concerning one language for Croatian and Serbian writers (1850), the concept of Slovene as a separate and individual South Slavic language already found broad support among educated Slovenes everywhere, including former Illyrians.[18]

It should be stressed, however, that the integrational aspirations of Slovene Illyrians led to one significant synthesis: instead of a common South Slavic language, they produced an integration of Slovene. Paradoxically, the linguistic features of those Slovene dialects which Ziljski proposed to serve as an integrational platform for Illyrian, now became the platform for the unification of Slovene dialects supporting literary Slovene. In the 1860s, they were accepted by Slovene writers and grammarians as common Slovene. It is here that the dilemma "Slovene or something else" found its final compromise: the integration of the Slovene dialects into an acceptable form to be encoded in the grammar of the Slovene literary language.

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[16] Cf. Lencek 1968, 205-206.

[17] Cf. I. Prijatelj, *Borba za individualnost slovenskega književnega jezika v letih 1848-1857* (Ljubljana: Slavistično društvo, 1937), 30-60.

[18] Cf. Prijatelj 1937, 84-95.

A SINGLE DIALECT OR A *LANDSMAAL* TYPE LANGUAGE? The contemporary Slovene literary language, as defined by *Slovenski pravopis-1962* is "an independent artificial structure," whose sounds, grammar, syntax and lexicon grow out of dialects, but which "does not agree in details with any of its living dialects." By analogy with modern Norwegian, literary Slovene is a language of the *landsmaal* type, a literary language above the spoken dialects, in a sense, an abstraction, a conceptual entity, growing out of many dialects but at the same time not based on any one local usage. The proposition presumably attempts to bridge two seemingly incompatible conditions: the equality of the dialects with striking heterogeneous structures, and the unity of the language-structure derived from them. In this contradiction lies the crux of the problem of the so-called integrational type of literary languages, a concept used in Slovene grammarianship since J. Kopitar.[19]

The case of the Slovene *landsmaal*, however, is perhaps slightly different. First, the Slovene literary language is not exactly what grammarians claim it to be, namely that it is not based on any dialect. We know that it is based on a set of dialects which we call Central. Secondly, the integration in the evolution of modern Slovene consisted of aggregation, i.e., a selective gathering of parts from distinct entities into a structure which has been conceived as a whole from the very beginning. Moreover, if the grammar rather than the vocabulary characterizes a language, and if the grammar represents the closed and the vocabulary the open system of a language, real integration processes are possible only in the latter. How the integration, or better, the aggregation was brought about in the grammatical structure of the Slovene literary language still remains to be explained.

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[19] Cf. Lencek 1968, 202-205.

In contrast to the West European written languages, which were created much earlier in class-differentiated societies as secular and aristocratic languages from the very beginning, literary Slovene was implanted into an essentially non-aristocratic society for the sole purpose of religious proselytizing. This is not to say, however, that this society was necessarily socially undifferentiated. The Protestant burghers and intellectuals in Ljubljana who supported Trubar must also have included the representatives of a Slovene non-peasant class. Moreover, the majority of the four thousand inhabitants of sixteenth-century Ljubljana, whose natural hinterland was Lower and Upper Carniola, were Slovene. The proposition that Trubar, a native of Lower Carniola who lived and served in Ljubljana for eight years, wrote his first books in a language containing the elements of both major central dialects, indeed suggests that he might have wished to base his written language on the Ljubljana speech and that this speech in embryo might have represented an urban dialect. Yet, the dialect of sixteenth-century Ljubljana was basically still Lower Carniolan, not much different from Trubar's native speech.

Most of the Slovene writers of that time also were from Lower Carniola. Although they knew that their audience was the Slovenes in Carniola, the Littoral, Carinthia, Styria and beyond, they used the Lower Carniolan grammatical structure in the written language. Dalmatin was aware of the lexical differences between the dialects and he appended to his Bible a small differential vocabulary for the speakers of the non-Carniolan dialects, while Krelj was the first to consciously widen the linguistic basis of Protestant Slovene by using his Vipava speech which, at that time, was an Inner Carniolan dialect. Bohorič and Dalmatin were speakers of Lower Carniolan, albeit its easternmost variety, from the regions close to the Styrian and Croatian borders. Their language was encoded in the Bible of 1584. Dalmatin's Bible, of course, also contained some features of the Upper Carniolan dialect. Thus, the text which established the literary language tradition and represented the Protestant linguistic legacy for the next two hundred years was already a synthesis of three Carniolan dialects: Lower, Inner, and Upper, but still, and this must be stressed, a Carniolan language only.

After the sixteenth century the Protestant Bible and the two Catholic editions of the Gospels and Epistles (Tomaž Hren, 1612; Janez Schoenleben, 1672) served as the de facto norm of the written language. When the number of writers from the non-central areas multiplied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the use and influence of Lower Carniolan diminished. As we have seen, this occurred during a time of significant linguistic changes in the western and central dialects. Texts were then very often printed only for the needs of individual dioceses. Thus, up to the mid-eighteenth century, a paradoxical situation was created. Instead of one, the Carniolan, at least four additional written traditions existed: a Carinthian (e.g., Andrej Drabosnjak-Schuster), a Lower Styrian (e.g., Jožef Hasl, Frančišek Gorjup, Gašper Rupnik), an East Styrian (e.g., Ignaz Parhamer, Ferenc Temlin), and the beginning of a written Prekmurje tradition (represented somewhat later by Štefan Küzmič). If it were not for the adherence of the central Slovene writers to the Protestant model and for the increasingly central role of Ljubljana in Slovene cultural life of the eighteenth century, the Slovene literary language would never have regained its unity.

By the mid-eighteenth century, when the new functional expansion of the written language opened more possibilities for the use of Slovene in public life, the situation became more critical. The attempt of Father Marko Pohlin (1735-1801), the first writer of the Enlightenment to encode the Ljubljana speech of that time in a grammar (*Kraynska Grammatika*, 1768) was indeed self-contradictory. Any narrowing of the territorial basis of literary Slovene was becoming dangerously anachronistic, and the golden rule: *Scribamus more gentis, loquamur more regionis*, 'let us write in the manner of the people, let us speak in the manner of the regions,' formulated much earlier by Schoenleben (1672), was by now firmly accepted. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Carinthian Ožbald Gutsman (1727-1790) supported unity with the central dialects in the name of his tradition, while the writers of the central dialects were returning to the Protestant norm. A new translation of the Bible (1784-1808), rooted more firmly in both central dialects than the one two hundred years before, now symbolically pretypified the idea of an all-Slovene language.

Kopitar's *Grammatik der slawischen Sprache in Krain, Kaernten und Steyermark* (1808) legitimized the notion of an all-Slovene literary language. On the one hand, Kopitar accepted the sixteenth-century Protestant heritage as a firm historical basis of literacy; on the other, he stressed the primacy of the vernacular. Attempting to unite the speech of all Slovene regions into one language, he insisted on the removal of all dialect-specific characteristics from its structure and measuring the dialects of Slovene against the etymological pattern of the Slavic languages, he found the rationale for a combination of Upper and Lower Carniolan structural features in the creation of an all-Slovene model. While Kopitar's intervention in orthography and grammar were important,[20] some of them proved to be ill-advised and were later abandoned. His *Grammatik*, however, exercised some influence only in the area of the Central dialects, where it touched off linguistic purism in lexicon and syntax, and induced a number of minor writers to model their language on the speech of Slovene peasants. This marginal trend, however, was significant.

Thus, in Kopitar's time the situation of literary Slovene was the following: Lower Carniolan of the sixteenth century served as its basis and its writing was etymological. The sixteenth-century sound system received an Upper Carniolan coloring which made the literary language closer to the non-Carniolan dialects and to other Slavic languages. The introduction of some Upper Carniolan morphological characteristics was a retrogressive step; these features gave way to the older tradition only after 1849, under the pressure of the non-Carniolan dialects. Great progress was made in Kopitar's time in syntax and lexicon; yet the literary language was still limited to Carniolan. Such a condition of the language is evident in *Kranjska Čbelica*, *Poezije Dôktorja Francêta Prešêrna* (1847), *Kmetijske in Rokodelske Novice* (1843-), and it prevailed until 1848.

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[20] E.g., in phonetics ǭ and ę̄ for Trubar's *u* and *ej*; more concessions to the symbolization of 'schwa' in writing; in morphology, the Upper Carniolan *stolam* (dat. sg. of *stol* 'chair'), *stolama* (dat. dual) for earlier *stolom*, *stoloma*, and a normalized neuter gender desinence *-o* for traditional *-u*, e.g., *lepo mesto* for earlier *lejpu mejstu*. See below.

We have seen how, in the second wave of Slovene Illyrism, Matija Majar Ziljski's search for similarities with Croatian and Serbian led to major concessions to the Carinthian and Styrian dialects in literary Slovene, and contributed to the creation of an all-Slovene literary language. It is obvious that every insistence on bringing together the Slavic languages on the basis of their similarities had to operate on the etymological principle. Such a truism corroborates Kopitar-Čop's integrational thesis, and when it was finally accepted it could not but strengthen the integrational process of literary Slovene.

The first to understand this was Luka Svetec (1826-1922), one of the most influential figures in this process, whose authority was supported by Franz Miklosich (1813-1891). Svetec proposed a program, calling for a compromise between Carniolan Slovene and the Carinthian-Styrian norm with a provision that Church Slavonic, conceived in terms of the Pannonian theory, should help to decide controversial cases.

A group of progressive young publicists, including Fran Levstik (1831-1887), Matej Cigale (1819-1889), and Franc Cegnar (1826-1891), accepted this proposition. From 1852 on, with their help Slovene newspapers and magazines of all regions adopted the following revisions in the literary language, which later entered the norm of Slovene: the Carinthian-Styrian desinences *-ega*, *-emu*, *-em* (gen., dat., loc. sg.) in adjective declension for traditional Carniolan *-iga*, *-imu*, *-im*; the Carinthian-Styrian desinences *-om*/*-em* (instr. sg. and dat. pl.), *-oma*/*-ema* (dat. dual) in substantives instead of the Upper Carniolan *-am*, *-ama*; the differentiation according to gender in the comparative forms of the type *večji* (masc. sg.), *večje* (neut. sg.), *večja* (fem. sg.), instead of the earlier *večji* for all three genders; the superlative prefix *naj-* for the earlier Carniolan *nar-* (e.g., *največji* instead of *narvečji*); the cluster *šč* for the Upper Carniolan *š* (e.g., *klešče* vs. *kleše* 'pincers'); and the spelling of 'schwa' with *e* instead of the earlier *i* (e.g., *sem* vs. *sim* 'I am,' *jezdec* vs. *jezdic* 'rider). After 1868 the East Styrian spelling of syllabic r̥ was introduced (*smrt*, *trden* for earlier Carniolan *smert*, *terden*) and, according to the Carinthian and Styrian dialects, *-e-* was written in *vedeti* 'know,' *videti* 'see,' *vedel*, *videl*, for earlier *vediti*, *viditi*, *vedil*, *vidil*, and in the forms *vsega* (gen.), *vsemu* (dat.) 'all' for earlier *vsiga*, *vsimu*.

Thus, the forms closer to common Slavic were launched. They were introduced relatively quickly into all major publications of the time, including Cigale's Slovene translation of the Austrian State Code. The most popular journal of those decades, *Kmetijske in Rokodelske Novice,* spread them to the most far-flung villages of the Slovene speech area. They were finally accepted into the norm when the majority of Slovene writers and poets accepted them in their poetic language. In the second half of the nineteenth century the majority of Slovenes finally possessed a united, all-Slovene literary language.

Only two areas remained outside this unity: the northwestern Venetian Slovenia with Rezija, and the extreme northeastern Prekmurje with Porabje. These regions were separated politically from the other Slovene lands — Prekmurje even in religion; it was Catholic and Protestant — and they developed their own written and printed traditions in their respective dialects. Prekmurje had a vigorous cultural life and a relatively rich book production already in the eighteenth century (Štefan Küzmič, 1723-1779, is its best representative). This dialect was printed until 1919, when Prekmurje was politically united with Slovenia. Porabje, Venetian Slovenia and Rezija, which remained outside Slovenia after the Second World War, have recently joined the Slovene literary tradition, although only symbolically. These are today the only areas which still practice and promote book production in their own dialects.

Only after this final act of the centuries-long process of unification and consolidation did literary Slovene reach the stage in which it could perform one of the basic functions of a literary language — the unifying function.

THE CONFLICT OF EVOLUTIONARY INTERFERENCES Three aspects of linguistic interference in the evolution of the Slovene literary language, or better, three processes of its evolution, stimulated and consolidated the integration of regional traditions. The processes involve the three different courses of Slovene evolution proposed by grammarians which one could conveniently label the Slavization, Archaization, and Vernacularization of the Slovene literary language. These terms refer to the three ideals: to make literary Slovene as *Slavic*, as *archaic*, and as *Slovene* as possible. These processes are essentially linguistic. In Slovene society, however, they assumed cultural and ideological dimensions, and were therefore sociolinguistic. They involve problems which are still relevant in Slovene society today.

SLAVIZATION The Slavization of a language which for centuries evolved almost completely isolated from the other Slavic languages, and reached relatively late a cultural level which could not be nourished by the linguistic resources of a basically non-urban society, can be sociolinguistically understood very easily. Since Krelj, who was the first to borrow Croatian and Church Slavonic words to replace German borrowings in Trubar's language, the Slovene writers of all times, in a similar effort to fight Germanisms, turned to those Slavic languages which had a longer and a more intensive cultural life. These languages were for a long time the only possible resource for the cultivation of Slovene. Individual words of the type, e.g., *čustvo* 'feeling,' *nežen* 'delicate,' *borba* 'struggle' were borrowed from Russian; *svoboda* 'freedom,' *važen* 'important,' *vzajemen* 'mutual' from Czech; *čar* 'charm,' *bolest* 'sorrow,' *razlika* 'difference' from Serbocroatian; *stolp* 'tower,' *prestol* 'throne,' *žrtev* 'sacrifice' from Church Slavonic; and *strog* 'severe,' *ustava* 'constitution,' *vpliv* 'influence' from Polish. Some scholars claim that the Slovene literary language indulged in a Slavization of its vocabulary more than any other Slavic language. The journalistic and literary prose of the last hundred years abound with such borrowings on all levels of the linguistic structure. A recent estimate of Slavic lexical borrowings in Slovene showed that one-third of the vocabulary of *Slovenski pravopis-1962* — with some 100,000 entries and as many turns and phrases — is of this origin.[21] Every cultural trend in Slovene history, particularly during the nineteenth century, brought a larger influx of Slavic borrowings. It was easier to browse through Slavic dictionaries than to investigate Slovene dialectal resources to satisfy the need for the intellectualization of the literary language. This aspect of Slavization reached its culmination in the mid-nineteenth century and has not subsided since. We will return to it once again a little later.

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[21] Cf. Bezlaj 1965, 194.

Another aspect of Slavization affected the grammatical structure of literary Slovene. In fact, an ideal all-Slavic grammatical structure has always served as a target toward which the construction of an all-Slovene pattern was directed. Thus, a number of features of verbal and nominal paradigms of the contemporary standard (e.g., adjectival desinences *-ega* (gen. sg.), *-emu* (dat. sg.), *-em* (loc. sg.); or gender distinction in comparative forms of adjectives in *-i* (masc.), *-a* (fem.), *-e* (neutr.), for an earlier, uniform *-i*, would have never been accepted from the Slovene peripheral dialects had they not figured in other Slavic languages. The Slavization of the grammar of Slovene, however, was in most cases historically oriented and therefore a part of another process, which was leading toward archaization of written Slovene.

ARCHAIZATION The term Archaization in relation to Slovene stands for a conscious structural and lexical mirroring of the written language in Church Slavonic, which was understood to be a direct ancestor of Slovene, in order to restore some of its ancient splendor and grandeur.

The roots of this process are to be sought in the philological teaching of the so-called Pannonian theory, in Kopitar-Miklosich's postulate of Slovene's central position among the Slavic languages. This ideology had a tremendous sociolinguistic and linguistic impact on the entire nineteenth-century cultural revival of the Slovenes. But it should be stressed that, more than Kopitar and Miklosich themselves, it was their Slovene pupils and followers, Franc Metelko, Ivan Navratil, Luka Svetec, Matej Cigale, and Fran Levstik, who were responsible for the restoration process of Slovene grammar and lexicon according to the pattern of Church Slavonic. The price paid for this interference was a deviation from natural Slovene toward an artificial structure which in some way became a "foreign" language to be learned in school even for native speakers of Slovene.

Thus, grammatical categories and formal classes, which were lost or weakened long ago in Slovene, such as the dual, the supine, the long infinitive in *-ti*, the participles, and the gerunds, have been either artificially reinforced in usage or simply reintroduced into the grammar. Similarly, the adjectival declension desinences in, e.g., *dobriga* (gen. sg.), *dobrimu* (dat. sg.), *dobrim* (loc. sg.), were reshaped to the modern *dobrega*, *dobremu*, *dobrem*, etc. The differentiation between the comparative nominative singular neuter forms of adjectives and adverbs of the type *težje* (adj.) vs. *teže* (adv.) 'heavy,' *lažje* vs. *laže* 'light,' *tišje* vs. *tiše* 'quiet,' *višje* vs. *više* 'high'; and the logical opposition of the prefixes *u-* vs. *v-*, e.g., *ubiti* 'kill' vs. *vbiti* 'knock in,' *vz-* vs. *iz-*, e.g., *vzhajati* 'rise' vs. *izhajati* 'result'; *iz-* vs. *raz-*, e.g., *iztrgati* 'tear out' vs. *raztrgati* 'tear up'; *o-* vs. *ob-*, e.g., *ostriči* 'cut' vs. *obstriči* 'cut round about' all became part of the literary norm. The appeal to Church Slavonic strengthened the logic in grammar, which in turn promoted a tendency toward hyper-correctness and linguistic pedantry. It is interesting that this trend went hand in hand with the teaching and learning of classical languages during the nineteenth century. It was then that the passive/medial mood was imposed, the use of pluperfect and past conditional revived, and the participial taxis reintroduced into Slovene.

The process of adopting Church Slavonic lexical items into the Slovene vocabulary progressed since the time Krelj pointed out their puristic value. They entered dictionaries either directly, e.g., *stolp* 'tower,' *vonj* 'smell,' *žrtev* 'sacrifice,' *prestol* 'throne'; or through Russian, e.g., *polk* 'regiment,' *soglasje* 'agreement,' *občestvo* 'community'; or through a Serbocroatian filter, e.g., *pročelje* 'facade,' *pronicati* 'penetrate,' *proglas* 'proclamation,' *prošlost* 'past' (words with a *pro-* prefix in general). Among the Slovene Churchslavonicisms are abstract words, formally marked by suffixes: *-stvo* (e.g., *čustvo*, *dejstvo*, *potomstvo*, *svojstvo*); *-telj* (e.g., *roditelj*, *voditelj*, *ljubitelj*, *pisatelj*); or compounds of the types *mnogobožje* 'polytheism,' *blagodejen* 'beneficient,' *bogočlovek* 'God-man,' *živopisec* 'painter'; or neologisms formed on Church Slavonic patterns (e.g., *blagosrčen* 'generous,' *mnogostranski* 'multilateral,' *brzonog* 'light-footed,' *istočasen* 'simultaneous').

The insistence on the historic-etymological principle of Slovene spelling supported only the archaizing trend; the discrepancy between letter and sound, created in the nineteenth century in the productive class of *-l*/*-v* + suffix derivatives *-ən*, *-əc*, *-ka*, *-stvo*, *-ski*, etc., of the type *brati* 'read' vs. *bralec*, *bralka*, and *delati* 'work' vs. *delavec*, *delavka* (see below), with a distribution based on Miklosich's

Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum,[22] engendered the unending orthographic-orthoepic disputes. It is this kind of archaization which is making the contemporary Slovene literary language so close to an ideal Slavic structure as exemplified in Old Church Slavonic.

PURISM AND VERNACULARIZATION A third factor in the evolution of the Slovene literary language, moving in an opposite direction from Slavization and Archaization, is Purism. This concept is known from the history of those Slavic languages which passed through the stages of linguistic "nationalization," a strategy of linguistic self-protection against external interferences and a means to invest a language with national dignity. As elsewhere, Slovene purism aimed first at replacing different types of non-desirable borrowings, mainly German, with Slavic or native equivalences. The recourse to Slavic resources, as we have seen, was part of the Slavization process: in an effort to check the Germanization of Slovene intellectual life, Slovene grammarians sanctioned an almost unlimited Slavization of the written language for more than three hundred years. This aspect of puristic policy was therefore sociolinguistically significant, for it helped literary Slovene to perform its symbolic unifying function.

As a result of cultural cooperation with other South Slavs during the nineteenth century, Slovene purism allowed hundred of Serbocroatisms and other Slavic words through the intermediary of Serbocroatian to become part of the written standard. After the First World War, however, with the beginning of the political union with Belgrade and Zagreb, such a linguistic symbiosis became less desirable. As it has happened so often in Slavic communities, the tactics had to be changed, and linguistically they were changed. Slovene purism had to revise its original positions: yesterday's ally became today's enemy.[23] In this way, since 1920, and particularly after 1945, the original push of Slovene purism has been redirected against the linguistic impact of Serbocroatian, primarily against lexical, phraseologic and stylistic Serbocroatisms in journalistic, professional, and political jargons. It should be stressed that the puristic tendency was now directed against the current borrowings as well as against all previously admitted. Since it has very often been rather difficult to discriminate between what was really Serbocroatian and what was imported from other Slavic languages through Serbocroatian, this latest phase of Slovene purism has now been oriented against all Slavic borrowings; it became anti-Slavic. Contradictory as this may be to its original position, this latest shift is again sociolinguistically relevant. It now calls on the literary language to perform another symbolic role which a literary language plays in society, namely, the separatist function. At the same time, the new orientation of Slovene purism poses a new dilemma to the language planners.

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[22] Franz Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum emendatum auctum*. Fasc. I-V. Vindobonae, 1862-1865.

[23] Cf. Bezlaj 1967, 60.

It is only logical that, in such a situation, grammarians should gravitate toward the other axis of Puristic policies, toward a return to still narrower native resources, to dialects, as they have done several times in the past. Such a return to natural Slovene, or, to use the current term, to the *ljudskost* of Slovene, has indeed been a professed goal of Slovene purism over the last fifty years.

The term *ljudskost* — the English equivalent is 'vernacularism'[24] — which is becoming more and more ambiguous in our time, originally meant the pure, uncorrupted speech which existed only in dialects. Whenever demands for *ljudskost* were made in the past, and such calls were made regularly in times of linguistic dilemmas, the term signified "dialects." *Ljudskost* was a programmatic rallying cry ever since Kopitar proclaimed the "unadulterated" speech of the Carniolan peasantry the highest model to be imitated by Slovene writers. In time the concrete dialectal model changed; for Kopitar *ljudskost* meant the language of the Central dialects, for Vodnik and Prešeren the Upper Carniolan, and for Metelko and Levstik the Lower Carniolan. At the end of the nineteenth century, the shift from the Archaizing trend meant a return to Prešeren's language again, that is, Upper Carniolan.

At that point Father Stanislav Škrabec (1844-1915), the most talented and influential of the Slovene linguists, recognized the prerogative of all Slovene dialects to participate in the evolution of the literary language. For him, the basis of literary Slovene was still to rest on the Central dialects, yet any other dialectal feature must not and should not be rejected, provided that it does not contradict the uniformity of the literary language. Literary Slovene was to be based on the sixteenth-century written language *and* on the living usage in the dialects of the nineteenth century.[25]

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[24] The term *ljudskost* is based on the concept *ljudski govor*, Czech *lidový jazyk*, Russian *narodnyj jazyk*, German *Volkssprache*, denoting the uncorrupted speech of non-educated speakers in rural areas.

However, before Škrabec's position received complete recognition, modern Slovene once again withdrew into its self-protective shell. After 1918 the ideal of *ljudskost* once more became limited to the Upper Carniolan dialect. This form of modern Slovene became the model language with the highest cultural prestige among Slovene society in the interwar period. Fran Ramovš and Anton Breznik (the latter in his grammars of 1916, 1921, 1924, and 1934) encoded the Upper Carniolan morphology in literary Slovene, with some features (e.g., accentuation) which very often sounded odd and archaic to the native speakers of the Eastern and Western dialects. The interwar generation of grammarians, writers, and artists helped to build this model which seemed to have gained the upper hand in Slovene society even in 1945.

After the war, however, following all the social and demographic changes, a shift in the code was inevitable. The orthographic dictionaries of 1950 and 1962 began to yield under the pressure of the Styrian and Littoral dialects. In morphology, for example, this meant the relaxation of Breznik-Ramovš's norm, a simplification of paradigms, a change in accentuation, e.g., a sudden breakthrough of the more productive, simpler, and more frequent accentual patterns of the type *žêna* (nom. sg.), *žêne* (gen. sg.), *žêni* (dat. sg.), *žêno* (acc. sg.) 'woman,' instead of *žêna*, *žené*, *žêni*, *ženó*; or *tèmen* (nom. sg.), *tèmnega* (gen. sg.), *tèmnemu* (dat. sg.) 'dark,' instead of *temèn*, *temnegà*, *temnemù*; or *kázati* (inf.), *kážem* (1 sg. pres. t.), *káži* (imper. sg.), *kážite* (imper. pl.), *kázal* (masc. sg. past act. part.), *kázala* (fem. sg. past act. part.) 'show,' instead of *kazáti*, *kážem*, *káži*, *kažíte*, *kázal*, *kazála*, etc.

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[25] Cf. P. Stanislav Škrabec, "O glasu in naglasu našega knjižnega jezika v izreki in pisavi (Iz novomeškega gimnazijskega izvestja leta 1870)," in *Jezikoslovni spisi*, I (Ljubljana, 1916), 1-59.

It was only now that the principle of *ljudskost*, in its broadest sense, began to influence the evolution of the literary Slovene norm, the first change which foreshadowed deeper sociolinguistic changes in Slovene society in the postwar period.

THE EVOLUTION OF CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE The profile of the sociolinguistic situation into which modern Slovene entered after the Second World War is approximately the following:

First, by 1950, almost the entire group of western dialects representing a major part of the speakers of Slovene were united within the political boundaries of the new modern Slovenia for the first time. This meant, on the one hand, that the Slovene speech area was maximally extended within the frame of the same political, social, economic, cultural, and sociolinguistic influences, and, on the other, that the weight of the peripheral against the central dialects was substantially increased, which reinforced the pressures for recognition of the non-central dialects' linguistic tendencies in the literary norm.

Secondly, the postwar sociopolitical conditions in Slovenia contributed to the expansion of the communicational functions of the literary language over all aspects of Slovene national existence. In the period before 1945 literary Slovene already reached a level of significant cultural prestige. Already it had become a perfect tool of communication on all levels of application; it was stylistically well differentiated and therefore well prepared for the further broadening of communicational needs. After 1945 the functions it had been performing earlier were expanded as never before. In addition, a number of new, primarily sociopolitical, administrative, and mass-informational roles were added. Thus, literary Slovene assumed all the functions that standard language can fulfill in an advanced society.

Third, the increased functional load of the literary language in postwar Slovenia and, in particular, the stress on its functioning in sociopolitical institutions contributed to "upsetting the balance" between the written and spoken forms of the literary language. In the primary system of communication the literary language is, by definition, a written language.[26] Its functional extension into social and civil life

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[26] Cf. Havránek 1932, 54.

— government, administration, and modern urban communication — supported by the general revolution in communications in the second half of the century, contributed significantly toward "unbalancing" the relation between writing and speech in favor of the latter. The concept of the literary language of written and printed texts is slowly being transformed into the new concept of a spoken standard. Stated concretely, the language of the theater and belles-lettres ceased to be the model for the literary language. It is obvious that such a change, leading to a switch in prestige standards, must have caused conflicts and dilemmas in the evolution of modern Slovene.

Two types of integrational social pressures in postwar Slovenia have been influencing directly the evolution of Slovene in general, and indirectly Modern Literary Slovene: horizontal pressure, induced by, as geographers phrase it, the "spatial mobility of population,"[27] and vertical pressure, consisting of a dislocation of social ranks of the class structure after 1945.

There are two varieties of population migrations which are of sociolinguistic relevance in today's Slovenia: first, a movement of the population from region to region within Slovenia itself; and second, a movement of the population from rural to urban regions.[28] The colonization of Slovene Istria, the districts of Kočevje in Lower Carniola, and the creation of new industrial centers such as Velenje in central Styria and

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[27] Cf. V. Klemenčič, "Prostorska diferenciacija Slovenije po selitveni mobilnosti prebivalstva," *Geografski zbornik*, 12 (1971), 137-219.

[28] Cf. Klemenčič, op. cit., 138-142. We are not concerned here with the problem of immigration from other Yugoslav republics. This type of migration, statistically 3.9% of the total population of Slovenia in 1970 (Klemenčič, op. cit., 201), is becoming linguistically noticeable in the larger economic centers, as e.g., Ljubljana-Bežigrad with 12% of its total population being immigrants, Jesenice 8.4%, and sociolinguistically significant in such peripheral districts as Brežice with 7.2%, Kočevje 7.8%, Piran 21.1.%, Izola 14.1%, and Koper 9.8%. However, immigration of population from other Yugoslav republics since 1970 has been increasing rapidly; cf. Jože Toporišič, "A Language of a Small Nationality in a Multilingual State," *Sociolinguistic Problems in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia*, ed. William R. Schmalstieg and Thomas F. Magner (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1978), 480-486.

Koper in the Littoral, are good examples of major sociolinguistically significant, postwar shifts of population which, to say the least, are upsetting the prewar dialectal map of Slovenia.[29] On the other hand, the urbanization process and its correlate, the decline of the rural population in Slovenia, make way for an accelerated retreat of dialects and the formation of new regional interdialects. The statistics on the progress of deagrarization of Slovenia corroborate this view. Between 1931 and 1961 the population of Slovenia grew 14.8%; in the same time span the urban population increased by approximately 33%. Moreover, in the six cities with a population of more than 10,000 (Ljubljana, Maribor, Kranj, Celje, Trbovlje, Jesenice), the increase was 75.1%. This data referes to the new urban areas with enlarged city limits, but does not take into account the sociological impact of the new industrial centers or the adjoining rural communities which provide a daily commuting labor force for these centers; the latter circumstance widens still further the radius of the sociolinguistic impact of urban communities. It is primarily these changes which are responsible for the pressures of horizontal sociolinguistic integration on the evolution of modern Slovene.

One aspect of the vertical sociolinguistic forces in Slovene society after 1945 involves a re-stratification of the population and a mobility of speakers which radically changed the old concept of prestige language. The year 1945 did not bring any change in the concept of the earlier elite mass relationship. The educated class still remained elite, its literary language still the prestige language and the model for immitation. However, something important changed on the sociolinguistic scale: the year 1945 marked the beginning of an increased participation of the educated and semi-educated man in public life, administration, and the newly created forums, i.e., in situations where the literary language had to be used. In the following decades the earlier linguistic instruction and systematic cultivation of the literary language in schools was discontinued or dangerously reduced, which obliged the semi-educated and non-educated participants in the sociopolitical structure to pick up the prestige language by a live-and-learn process. The antinomy "elite language vs. koiné," better known as the democratization process in the evolution of literary languages,[30] began to show its effects: laissez-faire in language use necessarily resulted in a lowering of the prestige code standards, and in a raising of the speech standard of the semi-educated speaker. Here is the starting point of the new regional interdialects.

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[29] In general, the inter-regional mobility of Slovene in the postwar period did not exceed 25% of the total population. Cf. Klemenčič, op. cit., 196.

Another aspect of vertical sociolinguistic pressure should be understood as part of a more general technical progress of the means of communication to which most modern societies have been exposed. The printed and spoken language of the mass media — newspapers, radio, film, television — which bombard everyday life with hastily produced messages, has assumed a double function in Slovene society. It helped first to restructure the prestige scale of the functional styles of modern Slovene, and second, to consolidate the regional interdialects.

A comparison of today's scale of functional styles with that of the prewar period shows a complete reversal in the ranking of their prestige standards. In the pre-1945 period, viz.,

PRE-1945	*TODAY*
theater speech	communications
belles-lettres	administrative speech
journalistic prose	spoken language
spoken language	journalistic prose
	belles-lettres
	theater speech,

the language of the stage was the model of Modern Slovene; today, it is considered archaic. Journalistic prose used to be rated below belles-lettres; today it seems to be more requisite than literature. The spoken language, once at the bottom of the scale, is now inherent in the top three categories. It is obvious that what seems to be a complete reversal in the scale of functional styles contributed to the switch in prestige standards in the new regional interdialects.

These interdialects represent the first nuclei of a new modern Slovene, which, however, is not unified, differing from one industrial, economic, and cultural center to the other, a situation which does not exactly conform to the expectations of the language planners. There are a few common tendencies uniting the Ljubljana, Maribor, Trieste interdialects, which may — as Francè Bezlaj would like to believe — point to the evolution of one single type of "colloquial Slovene."[31]

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[30] Cf. Bohuslav Havránek, "Demokratizace spisovného jazyka," Havránek 1963, 145-148.

We would not use the term "colloquial" for interdialects, however; we would prefer to call them a new form of Modern Slovene. It is true that the new interdialects are generated by the language of communications, that they avoid the dialectal and do not always comply with the limitations imposed by purists and literary norms, but at the same time they feed on the linguistic resources of their speech areas by tending to admit those processes which characterize their dialects (e.g., the modern vowel reduction, the loss of neuter gender, the loss of the dual, the merger of infinitive and supine forms, etc.). The effects of such "dialectalization" of interdialects, however, should not be exaggerated. Much more important than these are the features which unite them, e.g., the fact that their evolution appears to be rather spontaneous, taking place in the evolution of a standard identified with a Slovene urban society; or the fact that the new interdialects do not pursue any artificial trend of Slavization, Archaization or Vernacularization of grammar or vocabulary, although they do remain open to foreign influences, including Serbocroatian. Formally, this new type of Slovene is slightly more modest and perhaps more stylistically flexible than the so-called literary Slovene. The intensive industrialization of Slovenia along with the accelerated urbanization of the land makes it aggresively alive. It is only a question of time when this new prestige form of spoken Slovene will enter the written language of Slovene belles-lettres.

PROBLEMS OF THE INHERENT LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE To perform its communicative functions a modern standard must satisfy two basic prerequisites: it must possess a norm which is unitary and stable and, at the same time, flexible enough to allow for modifications demanded by cultural change; and it must have the ability to satisfy "the requirement of increasing accuracy along the descending scale of functional dialects from scientific to conversational."[32] For these two inherent properties of modern standards, Bohuslav Havránek and Vilém Mathesius introduced the terms: flexible stability and intellectualization. These concepts will also be used in our discussion of Contemporary Standard Slovene. The question we would like to probe is: how does the norm of Contemporary Standard Slovene satisfy these two fundamental prerequisites of a modern literary language?

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[31] Cf. Bezlaj 1967, 65-66; and Toporišič 1970, 57-70.

[32] Cf. Vílem Mathesius, "O požadavku stability ve spisovném jazyce." In *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, ed. Bohuslav Havránek and Miloš Weingart (Prague, 1932), 16.

FLEXIBLE STABILITY The language of the Slovene Protestants, based essentially on the structure of one single dialect, the Lower Carniolan, had a norm which was relatively unitary and stable. It was encoded in the Bible of 1584. Krelj, whose native dialect was slightly different, could have disturbed the unity of this norm had he insisted more on incorporating the special features of his speech. This he did not do. In this manner the unity and stability of the language of the Protestant Bible remained unchallenged until peculiarities of the new provincial dialects, differing from tradition, appeared in published texts. As long as such regionalisms were limited to the texts of provincial production, there was no danger to the unity and stability of the Protestant literary language. It was the eighteenth century's thrust for the unity and integration of written traditions which first raised the problem of a norm. Kopitar's stand for the language of the sixteenth century preserved the dialectal basis of the literary language; his introduction of Upper Carniolan vocalism ọ̄ for *u*, ẹ̄ for *ej*, was the first intervention into the norm in the name of the principle of unity.

The efforts to accommodate the structure of literary Slovene to other dialects continued into the second half of the nineteenth century. They seem to have been dominated by two contradictory tendencies: one promoting the restriction of the norm's concrete structural properties to a narrower dialectal basis, in most instances the Upper Carniolan; and the other building a more or less abstract linguistic platform to secure the unification of the language. The contradition culminated in Prešeren-Čop's time, when the poet elevated his Upper Carniolan dialect to the unprecedented prestige of a cultural language, while the theoretician formulated an integrational strategy for bringing together a dialectalized language; namely, the more specific a linguistic feature of a written language, the more restricted is the extent of its possible application.[33] For a long time, the artificiality of the norm of Modern Slovene was the only rationale and determinant of its unity and stability.

It was relatively easy to sustain such an artifical unity and stability in the language as long as the norm preserved its prestige value in the society and as long as it was sanctioned by the language of the best writers and imposed by its codifiers and correctors. When the post-1945 sociolinguistic trend changed these circumstances and, in particular, in the subsequent evolution of the literary language, the problems of its stability came to the fore rather acutely.

If the stability of a language entails its constancy, the resistance to radical change, and the capacity of modification and adjustments to its new functional needs — and this is what is implied by the term "flexible stability" — it is difficult to find an excuse for the periodic interventions of Grammarians throughout the recent history of Slovene. Such interventions traditionally appear in orthographic dictionaries, whose main purpose is to serve as an authoritative arbiter in questions of current usage. All major editions of Slovene *Pravopisi* so far[34] have also advanced rules and regulations aiming at reforms and charting the evolution of modern Slovene. Every such intervention represents a disruptive element and a violation of the principle of stability. Even, for example, if it does not entail more than the policy of exposing linguistic variants to "spontaneous" evolutions, or to "natural selection" processes, such intervention may cause periods of instability and disorder. Thus, the recent switch in preferential treatment of accentual patterns from the archaic to the more expansive forms (consistent as it is with the tendency of standards to favor linguistic elements which can be spread more easily over broader speech areas), hardly supports the unity and stability of the norm. As we have seen, in the system of adjectives the norm of the literary language in 1946 still required an oxytonal paradigm: *temèn*, *temnegà*, *temnemù*, *temnà* (nom. sg. fem.), *temnò* (nom. sg. neut.), whereas in 1965 the norm favored barytonal forms: *tèmen*, *tèmnega*, *tèmnemu*, *tèmna*, *tèmno*.[35] Similarly, in substantives, the mobility of *žêna*, *žené*, *žêni*, *ženó*, required in 1946, became facultative in 1965 with a preferential *žêna*, *žêne*, *žêni*, *žêno* pattern.

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[33] Cf. Rado L. Lencek, "The Modern Slovene Language Question: An Essay in Sociolinguistic Interpretation" (forthcoming); and "The Language Revolution in Slovene Romantic Poetry," *Slovene Studies: Journal of the Society for Slovene Studies*, 1 (New York, 1979), 43.

[34] Cf. Levec 1899; Breznik 1920; Breznik-Ramovš 1935; Rupel 1946; *Slovenski Pravopis-1950*; *Slovenski Pravopis-1962*; cf. also our Bibliography.

Another example is the introduction of accentual doublets in verbal patterns. As already mentioned, the Central dialects preserved in one stem type a retractive stress, e.g., (we mark here only quantity and place of stress), *kâzati*, *kâžem*, *kâži*, *kažîte*, *kâzal*, *kazâla*, where some of the other dialects notably Styrian and Littoral, have a stable stress: *kázati*, *kážem*, *káži*, *kážite*, *kázal*, *kázala*. Before 1950 the retracting stress was mandatory; since 1950 both patterns were admitted to the standard. However, whereas in 1950 the fixed stress was considered basic, the mobile stress was given preference in 1962.[36] Even if one subscribed to the view that such selective practices for the elimination of doublets in a lnaguage are useful and necessary in the evolution of standards, it would certainly be difficult to expect such practices to support the stability of the norm if the grammarian, in a little over a decade, switches the pattern twice, with a clear tendency to sustain that member of a doublet which has a lesser chance of winning the "spontaneous" selection contest.

There were, of course, many more arbitrary interventions in the literary language. Very often they disregarded the native usage, and were later censored and abandoned, but they nevertheless disturbed the usage of a generation or two of educated speakers. The following two examples illustrate this point.

At the turn of the century the recommendation was made to use in the literary language the *-ovati* instead of *-irati* pattern with borrowed verbal stems, e.g., *kritikovati* instead of *kritizirati* 'criticize,'

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[35] Cf. Rupel 1946, 68-69; Toporišič 1965, 190.

[36] Cf. the paradigms of *kazati* in *Slovenski pravopis-1950*: "*kâzati* and *kazáti*, *kâžem*, *kâži kažîte!*, *kažôč -a -e*, *kâzal -âla -o*;" and in *Slovenski pravopis-1962*: "*kazáti kâžem*, *kâži kažîte! kažôč -a -e* , *kazáje*, *kázal -ála -o*, *kazánje -a* and *kázati -žem*, with fixed stress."

postulovati instead of *postulirati* 'postulate,' *deklamovati*, *deklamujem* or *deklamavati*, *deklamavam* instead of *deklamirati*, *deklamiram* 'recite,' the patterns which do not have any support in the Slovene verbal system.[37]

Or — again only as an example — switching patterns in the formation of possessive adjectives from Russian personal names in *-ov*. Before 1945 the pattern was *Čehov*, *Čehovljev* (e.g., *Čehovljeva drama*); *Solovëv*, *Solovëvljev*(e.g., *Solovëvljev sistem*); *Turgenjev*, *Turgenjevljev* (e.g., *Turgenjevljev roman*) (Breznik-Ramovš 1935); after 1962, however: *Čehovova drama* or *drama Čehova*, *Solovëvov sistem* or *sistem Solovëva*, and only *roman Turgenjeva* with the personal name in the genitive case (*Slovenski pravopis-1962*), which represents the only possible Slovene solution to begin with.

A classical case of interference against the stability of literary Slovene is quite recent. As it is known, in *Slovenski pravopis-1962* a question was raised over the still unresolved problem of the spelling and pronunciation of *l* in a class of derivatives of the type *brati* (inf.) 'read' vs. *bralec* (masc. sg.) : *bralka* (fem. sg.) : *bralski* (adj. masc. sg.) vs. *bravec* : *bravka* : *bravski*. The problem is, of course, more complex and involves different phases of a derivational process,[38] but to demonstrate the point under consideration we will discuss only this narrow aspect of it.

One hundred years ago, in the wave of Slavization and in the wake of Miklosich's teachings, it was agreed that the substantives derived from the imperfective *-a-* and *-i-* verbs which denote *nomina agentis*, and the adjectives derived from them should be spelled and pronounced with *l*; e.g.: *brati* vs. *bralec* : *bralka* : *bralski*, *voliti* 'elect' vs. *volilec* : *volilka* : *volilski*. At that time this decision was supported by cultural and political aspirations for a South Slavic unity, by a belief that Slovene should be patterned on Old Church Slavonic, and by a desire to bridge the differences of the Slovene dialects with a uniform etymological spelling. Such a spelling has been used ever since.

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[37] Cf. Ivan Koštiál, *Slovniški in slovarski brus knjižne slovenščine*, 2nd ed. (Celje: Družba sv. Mohorja, 1931), 9.

[38] Cf. Boris Urbančič, "Problem *bravca*," *SR*, 14 (1963), 211-228; idem, *O jezikovni kulturi* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1972), 133-154; France Novak, "Najvažnejša stališča v pravopisni vojni," *Jezik in slovstvo*, 9 (1964), 62-65.

Since that time and in particular during the last thirty years, the suffixes *-aləc*, *-alka*, *-iləc*, *-ilka*, *-alən*, *-alna*, *-ilən*, *-ilna*, and many others have become extremely productive. In the meantime, the pronunciation of these suffixes in many such words began to conform to the known *l* ∿ *w* alternation, which corresponds to the historical evolution of velar *ł* before a consonant or a # in Slovene. Thus, in the Central dialects: */bráwəc, bráwca, bráwka, bráwski/*. In opposition to a dialectal pronunciation, the interwar urban prestige style preferred a consistent *l* pronunciation.[39] The problem began with the Orthographic Dictionary-1950 which normalized spelling with *l* and allowed a double standard in pronunciation: now */bráwka/* now */brȃlna/*; now */volíwca/* now */volȋlski/*; and now */letȃlca/* now */letȃlka/* (*Slovenski pravopis-1950*). The trend of pronunciation was, however, toward the generalization of spelling pronunciation, always with *l*: */brȃlka, brȃlski, brȃləc/*, which meant a departure from vernacular norms.

In the post-1950 Anti-Slavization wave the Orthographic Dictionary of 1962 changed this practice and introduced spellings with *v* in these types of derivatives; e.g., *bravec*, *bravca*, *volivec*, *volivca*, *volivka*, *volivski*, *letavec*, *letavca*, *letavka*, but still *bralen*, *bralna*, *letalen*, *letalni* (*Slovenski pravopis-1962*). The decision was made in a desire to "nationalize" a pattern which went too far in meeting a South Slavic unity at a time when this was not exactly desirable. The appeal made to the "ljudskost" of the language, i.e., the dialects, was at the same time directed against the tradition of usage and against the literary language as such. When the Orthographic Dictionary-1962 appeared, the spelling reform *bralec bralca* to *bravec bravca* met general opposition and a decree of the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences invalidated its decision.

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[39] For a most matter-of-fact statement about this problem see Fran Ramovš, in a review of "Fran Ilešič, Izgovor slovenskega knjižnega jezika (*Letopis Matice Slovenske za leto 1912*, str. 50-67)," *Nastavni Vjesnik*, 21 (Zagreb, 1913), 766-771; and idem, "Donesek k boju 'l' ali 'u'," *Slovan*, 12 (Ljubljana, 1914), 126-128; both articles now in Ramovš's *Zbrano delo*, I (Ljubljana, 1971), 186-195.

As the polemics which followed revealed,[40] the problem *bralec/ bravec* was only partially a dispute about spelling; the argument was also about the stability of the literary language, or better, the lack of it, and the controversy finally crystallized in the question: does a grammarian have a right to intervene with the evolution of a literary language which has already reached a stage of stabilization in its own evolution? It seems clear today that the ten years of discussion which followed, by implicitly recognizing the maturity of literary Slovene, clarified this question and brought about a better understanding of the meaning of unity and stability for the functioning of a modern language.

INTELLECTUALIZATION The role which a literary language plays in society imposes linguistic adjustments concerning either the subject matter of communication or its functional style. On the highest intellectual level, the need to project human thought accurately and systematically demands that language adapt, broaden and specialize its linguistic tools, whether in syntax (e.g., the binomial sentence), in grammar (e.g., some morphological categories as the verbal substantive, participles), or in lexicon (e.g., the preference for certain types of word-formational classes and a special abstract vocabulary). The adaptations in lexicon are perhaps most noticeable and most comprehensible: they are governed by an increasing need to express the ideas and objects of a new abstract and concrete universe, together with the need for expressing the old abstract and concrete universe in a new way. Such modification of language-means for new functions has been defined as the intellectualization of language.[41]

The intellectualization of Modern Slovene on the grammatical and word-formational level does not significantly differ from the same processes in other Slavic languages. The language possessed the form-grooves for the categories of abstract thought, but the non-educated speaker did not make much use of them. The need for the expression of abstract and general ideas first called for an activization of these categories and forms. The category of verbal aspect, inherent as it is in the grammatical structure of the Slavic languages, in spoken Slovene dangerously weakened in competition with the category of "Aktionsart"; but at a certain moment of its history, however, it was revived in the literary language. The use of passive constructions is being developed much further than it existed in the vernacular. The forms of some participles, certain types of adjectives, verbal substantives, and the 3rd person plural present tense short forms were either renovated or resurrected under the influence of Church Slavonic.[42]

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[40] For a bibliographic survey of polemics see Jože Toporišič, "Sodobno slavistično jezikoslovje v Sloveniji, *SR*, 19 (1971), 20-21.

[41] Cf. Havránek 1932, 34.

The suffixes *-stvo*, *-ost*, *-telj*, and the prefix *pro-* in contemporary Slovene have the same ultimate source.[43] On the other hand, the participial taxis and the use of pluperfect and past conditional were modelled on the grammar of the classical languages. The intellectualization of Slovene grammar was promoted partially by its archaization trend and partially by the influence of Latin grammar during the nineteenth century.

The lexical intellectualization of modern Slovene was dominated by the process of Slavization. As shown earlier, the development of written and printed Slovene into a modern Slavic language was achieved through an effortless but unorganic growth of its vocabulary from Slavic sources, with no attempt to systematize this process or to tap the native lexical sources for the needs of cultural expansion. The Slavization of Slovene was often promoted more by a Romantic enthusiasm of the educated for everything Illyrian and Slavic than by the concrete needs of the non-educated Slovene of the time. Judging its merits from a historical perspective, one must say that Slavization indeed infused the literary language with a vocabulary which became a resource for the lexical expansion of Slovene and that such expansion was perhaps the only way this could have been done at the time, and finally, that it accomplished it in record time. On the negative side, however, it should be stressed that Slavization created a disproportionate gap between the spoken and written language which could not but hinder the stability of the literary language.

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[42] Cf. Rado L. Lencek, *The Verb Pattern of Contemporary Standard Slovene, with an Attempt at a Generative Description of the Slovene Verb*, by Horace G. Lunt (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), 106-107, 110-116, 123-124.

[43] Cf. Bajec 1950, 124-126.

The process of an unchecked expansion of synonyms for existing native words went through stylistic turns which burdened the language with redundancies and tautological strings, as, e.g., in the style of Ivan Tavčar: *posadka je vežbala in vadila* 'the troops exercised' (1891); or Franc Šuklje: "*kako ravnati in postopati*" 'how to handle' (1876); or — to mention an extreme case — of Matija Majar Ziljski: *slovnica ali mluvnica* 'grammar,' *štetno i škodljivo* 'harmful,' *polezno i koristno* 'useful,' *slovnični tvar, izraz ali obrat* 'grammatical form,' and *običan i navaden* 'customary' (1866).[44]

The ultimate fate of such synonyms has been quite varied. In the past, some were never accepted or soon disappeared; e.g., *štetno*, *polezno*, *tvar*. Today, some of them which appear in the speech of people in contact with speakers of Serbocroatian, provoke sociolinguistic reactions and probably will never become part of literary Slovene; e.g., *častiti* 'treat,' *gužva* 'crowd,' *raznorazen* 'different.' Some of them displaced native words in the past, e.g., *malenkost* vs. *malost* 'pettiness,' *vojak* vs. *vojščak* 'soldier.' Some still live as synonyms, e.g., *zapad* or *zahod* 'west,' *bodočnost* or *prihodnost* 'future.' Some entered semantic oppositons through usage; e.g., *odmor* 'break' vs. *oddih* 'rest,' *pojav* 'phenomenon' vs. *prikazen* 'ghost,' *vojna* 'war' vs. *vojska* 'army,' *znak* 'mark' vs. *znamenje* 'signal,' *proglasiti* 'proclaim' vs. *razglasiti* 'announce,' *prodreti* 'break-through' vs. *predreti* 'pierce.' Some others, finally, are being accepted with specified meanings; e.g., *uporabnik* 'the one who uses something' vs. *koristnik* 'the one who derives profit from something,' *proslavljati* 'celebrate' vs. *praznovati* 'to celebrate a holiday,' *enkraten* 'sole' vs. *edinstven* 'unequalled.'[45] The acceptance of these last two categories represents a part of the intellectualization process of Contemporary Standard Slovene.

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[44] The borrowed expressions in the adduced examples are *vežbala*, *postopati*, *štetno*, *obrat*, *običan* from Serbocroatian, *mluvnica*, *tvar* from Czech, *polezno* from Russian. Cf. Breznik 1967, 132-241.

[45] The words *malost* and *vojščak* are native Slovene but they are not used any more. The words *zahod*, *prihodnost*; *oddih*, *prikazen*, *vojska*, *znamenje*, *razglasiti*, *predreti*; *uporabnik*, *proslavljati*, *enkraten*, are part of the active native Slovene vocabulary. Cf. Breznik 1967, 132-241.

On the other hand, modern Slovene has tolerated an almost unlimited borrowing from non-Slavic languages during the last decades. The borrowing makes its way from scientific and technical texts into more popular journalistic prose. The fact that the production of new native loan translations is less frequent in the modern language than previously is probably only consistent with its rather lax attitude toward borrowing.

Among the word-formational patterns in the intellectualization process of contemporary Slovene, the following may be of some interest: verbal substantives in *-je*, formed from perfective verbs; e.g., *odpuščanje* 'pardon,' *uničenje* 'destruction,' *priznanje* 'admission,' *osvobojenje* 'liberation'; abstract substantives in *-ota*, sometimes competing with those in *-ost*; e.g., *celota* 'totality,' *milota* 'grace,' *mrzlota* 'frigidity,' *gostota* and *gostost* 'density,' *dolgota* and *dolgost* 'length'; technical adjectives in *-ov*, derived from mass nouns; e.g., *bakrov* 'of copper,' *kalcijev* 'of calcium,' *bromov* 'of bromine'; adjectives in *-it* and *-ast* of different types; e.g., *hribovit* 'mountainous,' *barvit* 'colorful,' *kamenit* 'stony,' *barvast* 'colored,' *belkast* 'whitish,' *žveplast* 'sulphurous.'

In summary, the processes of the intellectualization of Contemporary Standard Slovene have rarely been controlled by the Slovene grammarian. They have been left to a so-called "spontaneous" growth, which very often followed the sociolinguistic forces under which the Slovene literary language evolved. Except in grammar and word-formation, the native linguistic resources have not been sufficiently exploited in this process. The main sources of vocabulary expansion have been two: heavy borrowing and semantic polarization of synonyms. The contemporary anti-Slavic, in particular anti-Serbocroatian purism appears to be a belated reaction to a too easygoing Slavization trend in the past; the demands for an elimination of all Slavisms, however, do not seem to be meaningful; such a step now would dangerously paralyze the communicative functioning of modern Slovene.

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It can be argued persuasively that in the eighties of this century, after a hundred sixty years of floating between dialects and non-native models, the Slovene literary language admittedly exists in its own right, i.e., in its own structure and its own evolution.

With the acceptance of the entire range of communicative and symbolic functions of a modern standard, it would seem that the need to respect both inherent properties of a literary language, flexible stability and intellectualization, has finally been recognized as a supreme prerequisite for the evolution of the Contemporary Standard Slovene.

On the other hand, it would also appear that the trends of Slavization, Archaization, Vernacularization, and their opposites, which helped shape literary Slovene as it now exists, are today still part of a sociolinquistic consciousness of Slovene society to such a degree that they may still continue to exert those contradictory pulls which have been responsible for the dilemmas and compromises in the past.

Whereas literary Slovene still represents the highest form of the educated language in Slovene society, the postwar evolution of new interdialects of at least three major urban communities (Ljubljana, Maribor, Trieste) distinctly indicates a spontaneous growth of a less formal and a less rigid form of an urban speech of unequivocal social prestige which might be leading the evolution toward a new modern standard Slovene.

SELECTED TEXTS

The following two texts are intended to illustrate the usage of Contemporary Standard Slovene. The first represents an example of literary prose by Ivan Cankar, one of the best Slovene writers from the beginning of the century (1913); the second offers an example of the current usage of Slovene in a translation from Ernest Hemingway's short story *The Old Man and the Sea* (1955). Each passage is accompanied by a phonemic transliteration and an English version of the text.

The passage from I. Cankar is from his *Moje življenje* (My life); it is reproduced from Ivan Cankar, *Zbrani spisi*, ed. by Izidor Cankar, Vol. 17 (Ljubljana, 1934), 183-185. The English translation of this text is from Ivan Cankar, *My Life and Other Sketches*, translated by E. Jereb and A. MacKinnon (Ljubljana: DZS, 1971), 15-17.

The passage from Hemingway's short story in Slovene translation is here reproduced from Ernest Hemingway, *Starec in morje*, *Novele*, translated by Janez Gradišnik (Ljubljana: DZS, 1955), 173-175. The English original of this text is from Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), 25-30.

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A. TEXT FROM IVAN CANKAR

Vsaka mladost je polna sreče in radosti, sijajnega sonca in prešernega smeha. Vsaka mladost. Ako v poznih letih in v grenkih urah pogleda človek nanjo s tujimi, hladnimi očmi, se mu zdi morda nevesela, kelih krivičnega trpljenja in prezgodnjega spoznanja. Ali težko je tako pogledati nanjo. Nenadoma se razmakne, se v nič raztopi megleni zastor in zasmeje se mlado sonce, vse ljubezni in vse hvaležnosti vredno. Spomin je sladek kakor pesem; prsa napne vzdih, zastro se oči in ustnice boža smehljaj.

Oko mojega spomina seže daleč, prav do tretjega leta moje dobe. Pogorela nam je hiša in obubožali smo docela. Mi otroci, kolikor nas je bilo, smo se igrali na vrhu pri Sveti Trojici. Pod večer je bilo, sonce je sijalo milo in toplo, kakor sam božji blagoslov. Spodaj je bila Vrhnika že vsa v senci, lesketala so se le še zgorenja okna gosposkih hiš. „Jezus!" je vzkriknila sestra. Zgrabila me je za roko in je tekla; jaz, neroden v nogah, sem kolobaril za njo ter se prevračal nizdol po kamenju in po spolzki travi. Silen dim je bil obsenčil nebo prav tja do Ljubljanskega vrha, do Svete Ane in do Žalostne gore; presekal ga ja navpikoma sijajen plamen, slok in visok. „Jezus! Jezus!" je kričala sestra . . . Tukaj, v ta prelepi plamen je zaklenjen moj spomin; več ga ni . . . Prikaže pa se nenadoma mati, čisto majhna, čisto drobna, nič preplašena, samo začudena; na cesti stoji ter tišči pod pazduho staro stensko uro, ki že zdavnaj ni več šla, ne bila . . . Spomin umolkne, pa se oglasi v izbi tete Micke. Izba je bila prečudno bela, tudi teta Micka je bila vsa bela in na belo pogrnjeni mizi je stala skleda belih, žlahtnodišečih štrukljev. Od zunaj je plamenelo zamolklo in rdeče, kakor večerna zarja . . . To je bil najlepši dan mojega življenja.

Gotovo je, da sem bil sila neroden in cmerav otrok. Sam se ne spominjam natanko, toda mati mi je pravila, da sem bil nadloga že od rojstva. Prišel sem prezgodaj na svet; v svojih bolcčinah je zaobljubila mati sebe na svete Višarje, mene pa v lemenat. Nikoli ni bila na svetih Višarjih, jaz ne v lemenatu. Kadar storiš obljubo človeku, jo izpolni, če moreš; kadar pa jo storiš Bogu samemu, jo izpolni, če moreš, ali če ne; zakaj trda je kazen.

Spomnim se na stari dom, na zgodnjo mladost, na to prelepo, vso s svetlimi sanjami prepreženo; in takoj se zmislim na peč. Bila mi je visoka in obširna planjava, bila mi je zavetišče v samotnih otroških sanjah. Tam sem sedel ter sem žvečil palec desnice kar ves dan. Lasje so mi bili predolgi, zato mi jih je bila mati povezala v čop, ki me je ščegetal na tilniku. Palec mi je nazadnje obvezala z veliko in debelo cunjo, ki je bila gnusna. Žvečiti nisem mogel več in sem jokal; izpod solz pa sem videl prostrano izbo, videl sem mater in očeta, brate in sestre, videl sem okna, neznansko široka in daleč za okni, onkraj ceste, milo vabeče mesarjeve klade. Tam se je nehal ta prostrani svet.

In a Phonemic Transliteration

/Wsáka mladóst je pówna sréče in radósti, sijájnega sónca in prešérnega sméha. Wsáka mladóst. Ako w pôznih létih in w grênkih úrah pogléda člôvek nánjo s tújimi, hládnimi očmí, se mu zdí mordà nèveséla, kélih krivíčnega trpljênja in prezgódnjega spoznánja. Ali težkó je takó poglédati nánjo. Nenádoma se razmákne, se w nìč raztopí məgléni zástor in zasméje se mládo sónce, wsȇ ljubézni in wsè hvaléžnosti vrédno. Spomín je sladə̀k kakor pésəm; pŕsi napnè wzdíh, zastró se očí in ústnice bóža smehljáj.

Okó môjega spomína séže dáleč, praw do trétjega léta môje dôbe. Pogoréla nam je híša in obubóžali smo docéla. Mí otrôci, kólikor nas je biló, smo se igráli na vŕhu pri Svéti Trojíci. Pod véčer je biló, sónce je sijálo mílo in topló, kakor sám bôžji blagoslów. Spôdaj je bilà Vŕhnika že wsà w sénci, ləskətála so se lè še zgórenja ókna gospôskih híš. „Jézus!" je wzkríknila sêstra. Zgrábila me je za róko in je têkla: jàz, neródən w nogàh, səm kolobáriw za njó ter se prevráčaw nizdòw po kámenju in po spówzki trávi. Sílən dìm je bíw obsénčiw nebó pràw tjà do Ljubljánskega vŕha, do Svéte Áne in do Žálostne gôre; presékaw ga je nawpíkoma sijájən plámen, slók in visòk. „Jézus! Jézus!" je kričála sêstra . . . Túkaj, w tá prelépi plámen je zaklénjen mój spomín; vèč ga ní . . . Prikáže pa se nenádoma máti, čísto májhna, čísto drôbna, nìč preplášena, samó začúdena; na césti stojí ter tiščí pod pázduho stáro sténsko úro, ki že zdávnaj ni vèč šlà, ne bíla . . . Spomín umówkne, pa se oglási v ízbi tête Mícke. Ízba je bilà prečúdno béla, túdi têta

Mícka je bilà wsà béla in na bélo pogŕnjeni mízi je stála skléda bélih, žláhtnodišéčih štrúkljew. Od zúnaj je plamenélo zamówklo in rdéče, kakor večérna zárja . . . Tó je bíw nàjlépši dán môjega življênja.

Gotóvo je, da səm bíw síla neródən in cmeràw otròk. Sám se ne spomínjam natánko, toda máti mi je právila, da səm bíw nadlóga že od rôjstva. Prišə̀w səm prezgódaj na svèt; w svôjih bolečínah je zaobljubíla máti sêbe na svéte Višárje, mêne pa v lemenát. Nikóli ni bilà na svétih Višárjih, jàz ne v lemenátu. Kádar storíš obljúbo člověku, jo izpówni, če móreš; kádar pa jo storíš Bógu sámemu, jo izpówni, če móreš, ali če nè; zakàj tŕda je kázən.

Spómnim se na stári dóm, na zgódnjo mladóst, na to prelépo, wsò s svétlimi sánjami prepréženo; in takòj se zmíslim na péč. Bilà mi je visôka in obšírna planjáva, bilà mi je zavetíšče w samôtnih otróških sánjah. Tàm səm sedéw ter səm žvéčiw páwc desníce kàr və̀s dán. Lasjé so mi bilì predówgi, zató mi jih je bilà máti povezála w čop, ki me je ščəgetàw na tílniku. Páwc mi je nazádnje obvezála z velíko in debélo cúnjo, ki je bilà gnúsna. Žvéčiti nísəm mógəw vèč in səm jókaw; izpod sówz pa səm vídew prostráno ízbo, vídew səm máter in očéta, bráte in sêstre, vídew səm ókna, neznánsko širôka in dálеč za ókni, ónkraj céste, mílo vabéče mesárjeva kláde. Tàm se je néhaw ta prostráni svét./

In an English Rendition:

Everyone's youth is full of gaiety and happiness, of brilliant sunshine and joyful laughter. Everyone's youth. If in later years and in hours of bitterness a man looks back on it with the cold eyes of estrangement it may appear to him unhappy, a chalice of undeserved suffering and early disillusion. But it is hard to look at in this way. In a moment the veil of mist parts, fades into nothingness and the young sun smiles again, evoking love and thankfulness. Memory is sweet as a song; the breast heaves in a sigh, the eyes dim and the lips are caressed by a smile.

The eye of my memory sees far back, as far as my third year. Our house burned down and left us destitute. We children, all of us, were playing at the top of the hill, by the church Sveta Trojica. Evening

was drawing on; the sun was shining mild and warm as God's blessing. Beneath us Vrhnika already lay in shadow, only the upper windows of the richer houses were still glittering in the sun. "Oh!" screamed my sister. She grabbed me by the hand and started to run; awkward on my feet, I trundled after her, stumbling over the stones and the slippery grass. Thick smoke had clouded the sky as far as Ljubljanski vrh, Sveta Ana and Žalostna gora, all at once the cloud was speared by a splendid flame, slender and high. "Oh, oh!" shouted my sister . . . Here in this wondrous flame my memory is locked. It is no more . . . Suddenly my mother appears, quite small, quite tiny, not at all alarmed, only astonished, standing on the road, clutching under her arm an old wall-clock which had been stopped for ages and never chimed . . . Memory fades and shifts to Aunt Micka's room. The room was so strangely white, Aunt Micka was all white and on the white-clad table stood a bowl of white, nobly-smelling dumplings. Outside it flamed and rumbled, red as the glow of evening . . . That was the finest day of my life.

There is no doubt that I was a very awkward, tearful child. I have no clear recollection of it myself but mother often used to tell me that I had been a nuisance since my birth. I had come into the world too early; in her pangs mother vowed to go on pilgrimage to Svete Višarje, and to send me to the seminary. She never went to Svete Višarje, nor did I ever go to the seminary. If you make a promise to a man keep it if you can, but if you make a vow to God you must fulfil it whether you can or not, for severe is the punishment.

I remember my old home, my early youth, wondrous, interwoven with luminous dreams, and all at once I think of our stove. To me it was a vast lofty plateau, a refuge in my lonely childhood dreams. There I used to sit chewing my right thumb all day long. My hair was too long so my mother used to tie it in a bunch, which tickled the back of my neck. In the end she wrapped my thumb in a big, thick rag, which was disgusting. I could not chew it any longer and I cried. Through my tears I could see the huge room, I could see father and mother, brothers and sisters, I could see the windows enormously wide, and far beyond, on the other side of the road, the subtly enticing pile of logs belonging to the butcher. There lay the outer limit of this vast world.

B. TEXT FROM ERNEST HEMINGWAY

"Dobro srečo, stari."

"Dobro srečo," je rekel starec. Nataknil je vrvene vezi vesel na ključa, se nagnil naprej, da je lahko premagal pritisk vesel v vodi, in začel v temi veslati iz zaliva. Z drugih delov obale so odhajali na morje drugi čolni in starec je slišal potapljanje in zamahe njihovih vesel, čeprav jih ni mogel videti, zakaj mesec je bil že za hribi.

Včasih je kdo v kakem čolnu spregovoril, toda iz večine čolnov ni bilo slišati drugega kot potapljanje vesel. Ko so zapustili ustje zaliva, so se razmaknili in vsak je veslal na tisto stran oceana, kjer je upal najti ribe. Starec je vedel, da pojde daleč na odprto, pustil je vonj po kopnem za seboj in veslal ven v čisti vonj oceana v zgodnjem jutru. Videl je svetlikanje zalivske morske trave v vodi, ko je veslal čez tisti del oceana, ki so mu ribiči pravili veliki vodnjak, zakaj morje se je tam iznenada spuščalo sedem sto sežnjev globoko in tam so se zbirale ribe vseh vrst, ker se je tok vrtinčil ob strmih stenah morskega dna. Tu so bili nagneteni rački in drobne belice in v najglobljih luknjah včasih tudi jate sip, ki so se ponoči vzdigovale prav do površja, kjer so se vse potujoče ribe hranile z njimi.

V temi je starec čutil, kako prihaja jutro, in medtem ko je veslal, je slišal drhteči glas letečih rib, ko so zapuščale vodo, in sikanje njihovih togo vzravnanih plavuti, ko so frčale po temi. Leteče ribe je imel zelo rad, bile so mu glavne prijateljice na oceanu. Ptice so se mu smilile, posebno drobne, krhke temne čigre, ki so zmerom letale in iskale, pa skoraj nikoli niso nič našle, in mislil je: "Ptice imajo trše življenje kakor mi, če izvzamemo roparice in zajetne, močne ptice. Le zakaj so na svetu tako krhke in občutljive ptice, kakor so te čigre, ko je ocean včasih tako okruten? Prijazen je in zelo lep. Toda včasih je tako okruten in to prihaja tako iznenada, te ptice, ki letajo, se potapljajo in lovijo, s svojimi šibkimi, žalostnimi glasovi, so prekrhke za morje."

Na morje je vedno mislil kot *la mar*, kakor mu pravijo v španščini tisti, ki ga ljubijo. Včasih tisti, ki ga ljubijo, govorijo slabo o njem, toda tudi to vedno govorijo tako, kakor da bi bilo morje ženska.

Nekateri izmed mlajših ribičev, tisti, ki so uporabljali bǒje za plavače na svojih ribiških vrveh in ki so imeli motorne čolne, kupljene za velike denarje, ki so jih vrgla jetra morskih psov, so imenovali morje z moško obliko *el mar*. Govorili so o njem kot o kakem tekmecu, ali kakem kralju, ali celo kot o sovražniku. Toda starec je zmerom mislil nanj v ženski obliki in bilo mu je nekaj, kar lahko daje ali odreka velike milosti, in če počenja divje ali malopridne reči, je to zato, ker ne more drugače. Mesec vpliva nanjo kakor na žensko, je mislil.

Veslal je vztrajno in brez napora, ker se je gnal enakomerno naprej in ker je bila površina oceana gladka, le tu in tam je tok naredil kak vrtinček. Puščal je, da je tok opravljal tretjino dela, in ko se je začelo daniti, je videl, da je že dalje, kot je bil upal, da bo ob tej uri.

Teden dni sem lovil nad globokimi vodnjaki, pa nisem ničesar opravil, je mislil. Danes bom lovil zunaj, kjer so jate bonitov in albacorov, in morebiti bo kak velik med njimi.

Preden se je povsem zdanilo, je imel že nastavljene vabe in je plul s tokom. Ena vaba je bila štirideset sežnjev globoko. Druga je bila petinsedemdeset sežnjev globoko, tretja in četrta pa sto in sto petindvajset sežnjev globoko v modri vodi. Vsaka vaba je visela z glavo navzdol, ročaj trnka je tičal v ribi, ki je bila za vabo, trdno povezan in zašit, in ves štrleči del trnka, lok in konica, je bil pokrit z novimi sardinami. Vsaka sardina je bila nabodena skozi obe očesi, tako da so bile nabrane v polovičen venec na štrlečem jeklu. Vsak del trnka, ki ga je mogla začutiti velika riba, je imel prijeten vonj in dober okus.

Deček mu je dal dva nova majhna tuna ali albacora, kakor grezilo sta visela na najglobljih dveh vrveh, in na drugih dveh je imel velikega modrega rogatca in rumeno ščukico; ta dva je uporabljal že prej, toda še vedno sta bila v dobrem stanju in izvrstne sardine so jima dajale vonj in privlačnost. Vrvi so bile debele kakor velik svinčnik in vsaka je bila z zanko pritrjena na mlado, zeleno palico, tako da bi se palica potopila, brž ko bi kaj potegnilo za vabo ali se je dotaknilo, in vsaka vrv je imela dva zvitka po štirideset sežnjev, ki ju je bilo mogoče pritrditi na druge nadomestne zvitke, tako da je riba, če je bilo treba, lahko odmotala več ko tri sto sežnjev vrvi.

Mož je gledal čez rob čolna, ali se bo katera teh palic potopila, in nalahno veslal, tako da so vrvi ostajale ravne zgoraj in spodaj in vsaka v svoji globini. Bilo je že prav svetlo, vsak trenutek je utegnilo vziti sonce.

Bledo sonce se je vzdignilo iz morja in starec je uzrl druge čolne, razkropljene po področju toka, nizko na vodi, precej bliže obali. Sonce je posijalo močneje in na vodi se je zableščalo, in potem, ko je povsem vzšlo, mu ga je morska gladina odbijala v oči, tako da je živo skelelo in je veslal, ne da be gledal tja. Gledal je dol v vodo in opazoval vrvi, ki so se naravnost spuščale v vodno temino. Bolj ko vsak drug je pazil, da so bile ravne, tako da je v vsaki plasti temnega toka na vsako ribo, ki bi plavala tam, čakala vaba natanko tam, kjer je hotel. Drugi so puščali, da je vabe zanašal tok, in včasih so bile šestdeset sežnjev globoko, ko so ribiči mislili, da so v globini sto sežnjev.

Toda, je mislil, jaz jih držim natanko. Samo sreče nimam več. Vendar kdo ve? Morebiti danes. Vsak dan je nov dan. Bolje je, če imaš srečo. Toda rajši sem natančen. Potem si pripravljen, ko pride sreča.

In a Phonemic Transliteration:

/"Dôbro sréčo, stári."

"Dôbro sréčo, je rékəw stárəc. Natákniw je vrvéne vezí vêsel na kljúča, se nágniw napréj, da je lahkó premágaw pritísk vêsel w vôdi in začéw w təmì vesláti iz zalíva. Z drúgih délow obále so odhájali na mórje drúgi čówni in stárəc je slíšaw potápljanje in zamáhe njíhovih vêsel, čepràv jih ni mógəw vídeti, zakàj mèsəc je bíw že za hríbi.

Wčásih je kdó w kákem čównu spregovóriw, toda iz večíne čównow ni bilò slíšati drúgega kot potápljanje vêsel. Ko so zapustíli ústje zalíva, so se razmakníli in wsák je veslàw na tísto strán oceána, kjer je úpaw nájti ríbe. Stárəc je védew, da pójde dáleč na odpŕto, pústiw je vónj po kôpnem za sebój in veslàw və̀n w čísti vónj oceána w zgódnjem jútru. Vídew je svetlíkanje zalíwske môrske tráve w vôdi, ko je veslàw čez tísti dél oceána, ki so mu ríbiči právili véliki vodnják, zakàj mórje se je tàm iznenáda spúščalo sédəm stó séžnjew globôko in tàm so se zbírale ríbe vsèh vŕst, ker se je tók vrtínčiw ob stŕmih sténah môrskega dnȁ. Tȕ so bilȉ nagneténi ráčki in drôbne belíce in w nȁjglóbljih lúknjah wčásih tudi játe síp, ki so se ponôči wzdigovále prȁw do povŕšja, kjer so se wsȅ potujóčeríbe hraníle z njími.

W təmȉ je stárəc čútiw, kakó prihája jútro, in medtém ko je veslȁw, je slíšaw drhtéči glás letéčih ríb, ko so frčále po təmȉ.
Letéče ríbe je imȅw zeló rȁd, bilȅ so mu glávne prijáteljice na oceánu. Ptíce so se mu smílile, posébno drôbne, kŕhke tə̏mne čígre, ki so zmérom létale in iskále, pa skôraj nikóli níso nȉč nášle, in míslil je:
"Ptíce imájo tŕše življênje kȁkor mí, če izwzámemo róparice in zajétne, môčne ptíce. Lȅ zakȁj so na svétu takó kŕhke in občutljíve ptíce, kȁkor so té čígre, ko je oceán včásih takó okrútən? Prijázən je in zeló lép. Tóda wčásih je takó okrútən in to prihája takó iznenáda, te ptíce, ki létajo, se potápljajo in lọvíjo, s svôjimi šíbkimi, žálostnimi glasóvi, so prekŕhke za mórje."

Na mórje je védno mísliw kot *la mar*, kȁkor mu právijo v špánščini tísti, ki ga ljúbijo. Včásih tísti, ki ga ljúbijo, govoríjo slábo o njém, tóda tudi tó védno govoríjo takó, kȁkor da bi bilȍ mórje ženska. Nekatéri izmed mlájših ríbičew, tísti ki so uporábljali bóje za plaváče na svôjih ríbiških vrvéh in ki so iméli motórne čówne, kúpljene za vélike denárje, ki so jih vŕgla jétra môrskih psȍw, so imenováli mórje z môško oblíko *el mar*. Govoríli so o njêm kot o kákem tékmecu ali kákem kráљu, ali celȍ kot o sovrážniku. Tóda stárəc je zmérom mísliw nánj w ženski oblíki in bilȍ mu je nékaj, kȁr lahkó dáje ali odréka velíke mílosti, in če počénja dívje ali maloprídne rečí, je tó zató, ker ne môre drugáče. Mésəc wplíva nánjo kkor na žénsko, je mísliw.

Veslȁw je wztrájno in brez napôra, ker se je gnȁw enakomérno napréj in ker je bilȁ površína oceána gládka, lȅ tȕ in tȁm je tók narédiw kak vrtínčək. Púščaw je, da je tók opráwljaw tretjíno déla, in ko se je začélo daníti, je vídew, da je že dálje, kot je bíw úpaw, da bó ob téj úri.

Tédən dní səm lovíw nad globôkimi vodnjáki, pa nísəm ničésar opráviw, je mísliw. Dánes bóm lovíw zúnaj, kjȅr so játe bonítow in albacórow, in morebíti bo kak vêlik med njími.

Préden se je povsȅm zdaníլo, je imȅl že nastávljene vábe in je plűw s tókom. Ȇna vába je bilȁ štírideset séžnjew globôko. Drúga je bilȁ pétinsédemdeset séžnjew globôko trétja in četŕta pa stó in stó pétindvájset séžnjew globôko w módri vôdi. Wsáka vába je viséla z glávo nawzdów, ročáj tŕnka je tíčaw w ríbi, ki je bilà za vábo, tŕdno povézan in zašít, in vəs štrléči dél tŕnka, lók in koníca, je bíw pokrít z nôvimi sardínami. Wsáka sardína je bilà nabôdena skózi obé očési, takó da so bilè nabráne w polovíčən vênəc na štrléčem jêklu. Wsák dél tŕnka, ki ga je môgla začutíti velíka ríba, je imèw prijétən vónj in dóbər okús.

Déčək mu je dáw dvá nôva májhna túna ali albacóra, kàkor grezílo stà viséla na nàjglóbljih dvéh vrvéh, in na drúgih dvéh je imèw velíkega módrega rogátca in rumêno ščúkico; tá dvá je uporábljaw že préj, tóda še védno sta bilà w dôbrem stánju in izvŕstne sardíne so jima dájale vónj in priwláčnost. Vrví so bilè debéle kàkor vêlik svínčnik in wsáka je bilà z zánko pritŕjena na mládo, zelêno pálico, takó da bi se pálica potopíla, bŕž ko bi kàj potegnílo za vábo ali se je dotaknílo, in wsáka vŕv je iméla dvá zvítka po štírideset séžnjew, ki ju je bilò mogóče pritrdíti na drúge nadoméstne zvítke, takó da je ríba, če je bilò tréba, lahkó odmotála vèč ko trí stó séžnjew vrví.

Móž je glédaw čez rób čówna, ali se bo katéra téh pálic potopíla, in naláhno veslàw, takó da so vrví ostájale ráwne zgôraj in spôdaj in wsáka w svôji globíni. Bilò je že pràw svetló, wsák trenútək je utegnílo wzíti sónce.

Blédo sónce se je wzdígnilo iz mórja in stárəc je uzŕu drúge čówne, razkropljêne po podróčju tóka, nízko na vôdi, precéj blíže obáli. Sónce je posijálo močnéje in na vôdi se je zableščálo, in potém, ko je powsèm wzšlò, mu ga je môrska gladína odbíjala v očí, takó da je žívo skelélo in je veslàw, ne da bi glédaw tjà. Glédaw je dôl w vodó in opazovàw vrví, ki so se narávnost spúščale w vôdno təmíno. Bòlj ko wsák drúg je páziw, da so bilè ráwne, takó da je w wsáki plásti tə̀mnega tóka na wsáko ríbo, ki bi plávala tàm, čakála vába natánko tàm, kjer je hôtew. Drúgi so púščali, da je vábe zanášaw tók, in včásih so bilè šéstdeset séžnjew globôko, ko so ríbiči míslili, da so v globíni stó séžnjew.

Tóda, je mísliw, jàz jih držím natánko. Samó sréče nímam vèč. Vəndàr kdó vé? Morebíti dánes. Wsák dán je nòv dán. Bólje je, če imáš sréčo. Tóda rájši səm natánčən. Potém si priprávljen, ko príde sréča./

Original English Text:

"Good luck old man."

"Good luck," the old man said. He fitted the rope lashings of the oars onto the thole pins, and, leaning forward against the thrust of the blades in the water, he began to row out of the harbor in the dark. There were other boats from the other beaches going out to sea and the old man heard the dip and push of their oars even though he could not see them now the moon was below the hills.

Sometimes someone would speak in a boat. But most of the boats were silent except for the dip of the oars. They spread apart after they were out of the mouth of the harbor and each one headed for the part of the ocean where he hoped to find fish. The old man knew he was going far out and he left the smell of the land behind and rowed out into the clean early morning smell of the ocean. He saw the phosphorescence of the Gulf weed in the water as he rowed over the part of the ocean that the fishermen called the great well because there was a sudden deep of seven hundred fathoms where all sorts of fish congregated because of the swirl the current made against the steep walls of the floor of the ocean. Here there were concentrations of shrimp and bait fish and sometimes schools of squid in the deepest holes and these rose close to the surface at night where all the wandering fish fed on them.

In the dark the old man could feel the morning coming and as he rowed he heard the trembling sound as flying fish left the water and the hissing that their stiff set wings made as they soared away in the darkness. He was very fond of flying fish as they were his principal friends on the ocean. He was sorry for the birds, especially the small delicate dark terns that were always flying and looking and almost never finding, and he thought, "The birds have a harder life than we do except for the robber birds and the heavy strong ones. Why did they make birds so delicate and fine as those sea swallows when the ocean can be so cruel? She is kind and very beautiful. But she can be so cruel and it comes so suddenly and such birds that fly, dipping and hunting, with their small sad voices are made too delicately for the sea."

He always thought of the sea as *la mar* which is what people call her in Spanish when they love her. Sometimes those who love her say bad things of her but they are always said as though she were a woman. Some of the younger fishermen, those who used buoys as floats for their lines and had motorboats, bought when the shark livers had brought much money, spoke of her as *el mar* which is masculine. They spoke of her as a contestant or a place or even an enemy. But the old man always thought of her as feminine and as something that gave or withheld great favors, and if she did wild or wicked things it was because she could not help them. The moon affects her as it does a woman, he thought.

He was rowing steadily and it was no effort for him since he kept well within his speed and the surface of the ocean was flat except for the occasional swirls of the current. He was letting the current do a third of the work and as it started to be light he saw he was already further out than he had hoped to be at this hour.

I worked the deep wells for a week and did nothing, he thought. Today I'll work out where the schools of bonita and albacore are and maybe there will be a big one with them.

Before it was really light he had his baits out and was drifting with the current. One bait was down forty fathoms. The second was at seventy-five and the third and fourth were down in the blue water at one hundred and one hundred and twenty-five fathoms. Each bait hung head down with the shank of the hook inside the bait fish, tied and sewed solid and all the projecting part of the hook, the curve and the point, was covered with fresh sardines. Each sardine was hooked through both eyes so that they made a half-garland on the projecting steel. There was no part of the hook that a great fish could feel which was not sweet smelling and good tasting.

The boy had given him two fresh small tunas, or albacores, which hung on the two deepest lines like plummets and, on the others, he had a big blue runner and a yellow jack that had been used before; but they were in good condition still and had the excellent sardines to give them scent and attractiveness. Each line, as thick around as a big pencil, was looped onto a green-sapped stick so that any pull or touch on the bait would make the stick dip and each line had two forty-fathom coils which could be made fast to the other spare coils so that, if it were necessary, a fish could take out over three hundred fathoms of line.

Now the man watched the dip of the three sticks over the side of the skiff and rowed gently to keep the lines straight up and down and at their proper depths. It was quite light and any moment now the sun would rise.

The sun rose thinly from the sea and the old man could see the other boats, low on the water and well in toward the shore, spread out across the current. Then the sun was brighter and the glare came on the water and then, as it rose clear, the flat sea sent it back at his eyes so that it hurt sharply and he rowed without looking into it. He looked down into the water and watched the lines that went straight down into the dark of the water. He kept them straighter than anyone did, so that at each level in the darkness of the stream there would be a bait waiting exactly where he wished it to be for any fish that swam there. Others let them drift with the current and sometimes they were at sixty fathoms when the fishermen thought they were at a hundred.

But, he thought, I keep them with precision. Only I have no luck any more. But who knows? Maybe today. Every day is a new day. It is better to be lucky. But I would rather be exact. Then when luck comes you are ready.

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PERIODICALS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ArhV	*Arheološki vestnik*, SAZU, Razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede, Inštitut za arheologijo, Ljubljana.
AfslPh	*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Vienna-Berlin.
Bio-Biblio SAZU 1976	*Biografije in bibliografije znanstvenih in strokovnih sodelavcev SAZU* (Ljubljana, 1976) (SAZU, Biblioteka, 5).
BPTJ	*Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego*, Cracow.
BSLP	*Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, Paris.
BV	*Bogoslovni vestnik*, Ljubljana.
CIS-III	*III-ème Congrès international des slavistes (Philologues slaves). Publications du Comité d'organisation*, 1-4 (Belgrade, 1939).
CvetjeVFr	*Cvetje z vrtov sv. Frančiška*, Gorica, Kamnik, Ljubljana.
Čas	*Čas. Znanstvena revija Leonove družbe*, Ljubljana.
ČJKZ	*Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino*, Ljubljana.
ČZN	*Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, Maribor.
ČZN NV	*Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje. Nova vrsta*, Maribor.
DenkKAW	*Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenshcaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
DS	*Dom in svet*, Ljubljana.
DZS	*Državna založba Slovenije*, Ljubljana.
EJ	*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb.
FMRI	*Filologiska meddelanden från Ryska institutet vid Stockholms Högskola*, Stockholm.
GMS	*Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, Ljubljana.
HDZ	*Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik*, Zagreb.
IJSLP	*International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, The Hague.
IMK	*Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko*, Ljubljana.

Jezik	*Jezik. Časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika,* Zagreb.
JezikPog	*Jezikovni pogovori* [I] (Ljubljana 1965); II (Ljubljana 1967).
JezSp	P. Stanislav Škrabec, *Jezikoslovni spisi* (Ljubljana, 1916-1921).
JF	*Južnoslovenski filolog*, Belgrade.
JiS	*Jezik in slovstvo*, Ljubljana.
KK	*Ant. Knezova knjižnica*, Ljubljana, 1-24.
Letopis AZU	*Letopis Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti*, Ljubljana.
Letopis MS	*Letopis Matice slovenske*, Ljubljana.
Letopis SAZU	*Letopis Slovenske Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti,* Ljubljana.
Linguistica	*Linguistica*, Ljubljana.
Ljetopis JAZU	*Ljetopis Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, Zagreb.
LudSłow	*Lud Słowiański. Pismo poświecone dialektologii i etnografii Słowian*, Cracow.
LZ	*Ljubljanski Zvon*, Ljubljana.
NE SHS	*Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka*, Zagreb.
NUK	Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica, Ljubljana.
Orbis	*Orbis. Bulletin international de documentation linguistique*, Louvain.
Oxford Slavonic Papers	*Oxford Slavonic Papers*, Oxford.
NSd	*Naša Sodobnost*, Ljubljana.
PAU	*Polska Akademia Umiejętności*, Cracow.
PF	*Prace filologiczne*, Warsaw.
Pogovori o jeziku	*Pogovori o jeziku in slovstvu.* Predavanja na zborovanju slovenskih slavistov v Mariboru od 26. junija do 1. julija 1954 (Maribor 1955).
Rad JAZU	*Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, Zagreb.

Ramovš ZD	Fran Ramovš, *Zbrano delo*, I. Ed. T. Logar and J. Rigler, SAZU, Razred za filološke in literarne vede, Dela 23/I, Inštitut za slovenski jezik, 11/1 (Ljubljana 1976).
Razprave AZU	*Razprave Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana.
Razprave SAZU	*Razprave Slovenske Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti*, Ljubljana.
Razprave ZD	*Razprave Znanstvenega društva v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana.
Razprave ZDHV	*Razprave Znanstvenega društva za humanistične vede*, Ljubljana.
RES	*Revue des études slaves*, Paris.
RFV	*Russkij filologičeskij vestnik*, Warsaw.
RS	*Rocznik sławistyczny*, Cracow.
SBL	*Slovenski biografski leksikon*, Ljubljana.
SDZ	*Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Belgrade.
SEEJ	*Slavic and East European Journal*, Bloomington (Indiana),Madison (Wisconsin), Chicago (Illinois).
SFPS	*Studie z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej*, Warsaw.
SitzKAW	*Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, Vienna.
SJ	*Slovenski jezik. Glasilo Slavističnega društva*, Ljubljana.
Slavia	*Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii*, Prague.
Slovene Studies	*Slovene Studies: Journal of the Society for Slovene Studies*, New York.
Sodobnost	*Sodobnost*, Ljubljana.
SR	*Slavistična revija. Časopis za jezikoslovje in literarne vede*, Ljubljana.
SSJLiK	*Seminar slovenskega jezika, literature in kulture. Predavanja.* Ljubljana: Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti, Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.
Studia Slavica	*Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest.

SW	Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, The Hague-Paris.
TCLP	*Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague*, Prague.
VJa	*Voprosy jazykoznanija*, Moscow.
Word	*Word. Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, New York.
WS	*Die Welt der Slaven. Vierteljahrschrift für Slavistik*, Wiesbaden.
Zbornik MS	*Zobrnik Matice slovenske*, Ljubljana.
ZČ	*Zgodovinski časopis. Glasilo Zgodovinskega društva za Slovenijo*, Ljubljana.
ZFL	*Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku Matice Srpske*, Novi Sad.
ZNŽO	*Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, Zagreb.
ŽMNP	*Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija*, St. Petersburg-Petrograd.

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